

# **EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN – POST INDEPENDENCE SCENARIO IN KARNATAKA**

*Thesis submitted to Bangalore University for award of*

**Doctor of Philosophy**  
in History  
by

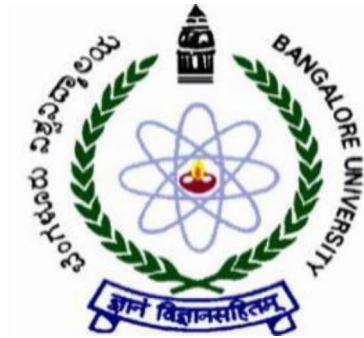
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**BANGALORE UNIVERSITY**

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## **DECLARATION**

I Malini.M, do hereby declare that the thesis entitled Empowerment of Women- Post Independence Scenario in Karnataka being Submitted to the Bangalore University, Bangalore for the award of degree 'Doctor of Philosophy' in History has not been submitted previously to any other institution, including this University or published at any time before for the degree of Ph.D

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I have the pleasure to certify that the thesis entitled **Empowerment of Women- Post Independence Scenario in Karnataka** is the result of bonafide research carried out by Smt. Malini. M under my guidance and supervision. The thesis conforms to the standard envisaged by regulations of the University and no part of it has been utilised for any other degree.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

UNO	--	United Nations Organisation
UNDP	--	United Nations Development Report
IMF	--	International Monetary Fund
VAW	--	Violence against Women
MMR	–	Maternal Mortality Rate
IMR	-	Infant Mortality Rate
RCH	–	Reproductive and Child Health
NRHM	--	National Rural Health Mission
DFID	--	Department of International Development
TFR	--	Total Fertility Rate
UEE	--	Universal Elementary Education
SSA	--	Sarva Siksha Abhiyan
OOS	–	Out of School
TDB	--	Taluk Development Boards
KMAY	--	Karnataka Mahila Abhivrudhi Yojane
SHG	--	Self Help Groups
SC/ST	--	Schedule Caste / Schedule Tribe
EWR	--	Elected Women Representatives
WID –		Women in Development
PRI	--	Panchayat Raj Instituions

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## **PREFACE**

In the past sixty seven years India has transformed from a colonial agrarian economy into a modern, industrialising, knowledge based economy. This development process has benefited only certain sections of the society. Marginalised sections in society especially women are unable to take advantage of the development process which has led to gender inequality and is clearly visible in economic, political and social spheres. In order to build gender equality into the process of development the policy makers in the last few decades are giving priority to gender issues. Many Plans, Programmes and Policies have been implemented for the advancement of women in different spheres.

The most popular and widespread approach to gender issues in development is the Empowerment Approach. Almost all Programmes targeting women are being described as Programme for women empowerment. It has become an important concept affecting the life of large number of women. Women have to meet on the one hand the developmental needs which the government and other developmental agencies have imposed on them and on the other hand they have to perform their gender roles which are defined by the patriarchy, culture and traditions. In this context cleavages of caste, assault of the late capitalist and neo-colonial process of governance facilitated /forced by globalization are taken into consideration as this influences the structures in society and constantly inform the very world in which women live at their receiving end. An attempt is made in this thesis to understand Empowerment as used in the current

development discourse and analyses the various strategies adopted by the Government of India and the State of Karnataka in particular for the advancement of women. A conceptual and theoretical engagement with the concept of empowerment is undertaken in this study, while at the same time the study critiques the empowerment strategies in the state of Karnataka.

## **Objective of the Study**

The study focuses on Women in Karnataka and attempts to understand empowerment as used in the development discourse. For this purpose the current development agenda is situated in a larger context and various global trends and their influence on the developmental Plans Policies and Programmes are considered. As the term Empowerment is very complex and highly contested, an attempt is made to understand empowerment by analyzing the various definitions of empowerment given by those working in the field of development. The study critiques the empowerment approach adopted by the Governments at the centre as well as in Karnataka and analyses the impact it has had on the lives of women.

## **Area of Study**

This study focuses upon women's situation during the postmodern times. The Plans, Policies and Programmes formulated for the development of the nation and the empowerment approach adopted to empower women socially, politically and economically is studied. The strategies to empower women after the decentralization and liberalization have been taken into

cognizance. The undercurrents beneath the rhetoric of women's empowerment are examined taking into account the success and failures of the programmes and in identifying the problem areas. But for a few research papers, articles, and books on empowerment in general there has been no in depth study to understand empowerment as used in the current development discourse and the effectiveness of the empowerment approach in Karnataka is examined.

## **Review of Literature**

For the study undertaken Primary and Secondary sources have been extensively availed. The primary sources for the research study are Reports published by the Government, Reports published by International Agencies like World Bank, United Nations Organization etc. Manuals of Administration published by the Government of Karnataka, Census Reports, Constitution of India, Indian Penal Code, Acts, Regulations and Ordinances in force in the State of Karnataka. Report of the National Committee 1975, Survey Reports, Policies Programmes and Plans of various Departments of Government of Karnataka such as Department of Women and Child Development, Karnataka State women's Development Corporation, Karnataka State Commission for Women, Karnataka State Welfare Board have been consulted.

Extensive Field work was carried out for the study. Visit to villages in several districts in Karnataka have been undertaken. Members of various Panchayat Offices and Banks which are aiding Self Help Groups have been

consulted. Interviews and Focus group discussions with elected women representatives, members of Self Help Groups was carried to record their experiences. Interaction with Non Governmental Organisations and Women's Organisations has helped in understanding of the ground reality.

Visit to repositories has helped in accessing information from several secondary sources. Besides Periodicals, journals, Including online journals and magazines have been consulted on an extensive scale.

## **Chapterisation**

Empowerment of women is the buzz word in Gender –Development debate and is used by almost all programmes and policies which target women. This work is structured into six chapters besides the preface.

In the introductory chapter an attempt is made to explore the concept of empowerment. Various definitions of power are examined and from that base the meaning of empowerment as used by different writers is considered as a background for the thesis. Also the contemporary women's movement in India is mapped and the role it has played in challenging the gender power relations is discussed.

Chapter 2 traces how empowerment approach had risen from the attempts of the Third World countries to develop. The various approaches made by the Government of India since independence to put the nation on the path of development is discussed.

Chapter 3 critiques the practical ways of social empowerment of women in Karnataka. It takes into account Health, Education and Violence against women and analyses the various policies and programmes formulated by the Government of Karnataka.

Chapter 4 traces women in decision making position in Karnataka and a specific contextual account and description of women in Panchayat Raj Institutions in Karnataka are discussed to analyse political empowerment of women.

Chapter 5 discusses various policies and programmes formulated by the Government of Karnataka for the economic empowerment of women. The Self Help Group Strategy in Karnataka is discussed as a case to examine the effectiveness of this strategy to empower women.

In the concluding Chapter summarises the attempts made by the Government of Karnataka to empower women socially, politically and economically suggests that power to be the focus of all empowerment strategies if empowerment has to be truly meaningful.

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

On India becoming independent from two hundred years of colonial rule, one of the main concerns of the people and their leaders was to bring about economic and social transformation. To achieve its objectives India adopted a Constitution which guaranteed certain Fundamental Rights to the citizens of India and enunciated certain Directive Principles of State Policy, in particular, that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life, and shall direct its policy towards securing, among other things:-

- that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood ;
- that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to serve the common good ; and
- that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.

Having regard to these rights and in furtherance of these principles as well as of the declared objective of the Government to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by efficient exploitation of the resources of the country, increasing production, and offering opportunities to all for employment in the service of the community the planning commission was established in 1950. Many development policies, plans and programmes were implemented so that India can develop. However these initiatives did not reach marginalized sections of the society especially women who constitute majority of the poor. The top down approach of development strategy had not accomplished the desired trickling down of the benefits of development to women. There was no significant improvement in the status of women. Further the changing social and economic conditions in the country, such as globalization, liberalization and privatization had created various new problems relating to the advancement of women. The traditional welfare programmes such as poverty alleviation schemes did not address the underlying structural factors that perpetuated the oppression, subordination and exploitation of women. The government realized that these changing needs of women were not represented and understood by the policy makers and administrators. It was from these roots that an alternative bottoms up approach emerged. The concept of participation and empowerment came to be used in the development discourse. It was during the Ninth five year Plan (1997-2002) that Empowerment of Women became the primary objective of the government. Empowerment becomes a buzz word in the current development

discourse used in a majority of the policy documents for poverty alleviation<sup>1</sup>. Since then almost all programmes targeting women are being described as programmes for women empowerment and women are looked upon as agents of change.

The concept of empowerment emerged from the critiques and debates generated by the women's movement during the 1980's when feminists, particularly of the third world which is also known as global south, economic south, were 'growing discontent with the largely apolitical and economic models in prevailing development interventions'<sup>2</sup>. By the beginning of the 1990's empowerment was used by almost all development assistance agencies (multilateral, bilateral and private) and was applied in a broad range of social change processes, it was most widely used with reference to women and gender equality. Empowerment was used to mean people's participation and women's development. The term empowerment was first introduced by the policy maker following The Fourth World Conference held at Beijing in 1995. This conference impressed upon the governments of the Third World, the need to empower women. The Third world nations who were anxious to demonstrate their progressive approach to gender issues immediately took the catch phrase empowerment.

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<sup>1</sup> Goodson, Forde J: 1995, Trade Aspect of Women's Role in the Development Process, Cairo-Copenhagen-Beijing, in E.Haxton and C.olsson: Women in Development-Trade Aspect on the Women in Development Process, Fyrix Tryck AB, Uppsala, p.9.

<sup>2</sup> Batliwala, Srilatha: 2007, Putting Power Back into Empowerment, Open Democracy, [www.opendemocracy.net](http://www.opendemocracy.net)



After the Beijing conference empowerment entered the gender equality arena in India, the feminists challenging patriarchal gender relations, the progressive government policy, and the aid agencies anxious to do something new made empowerment the objective of their work. Soon everybody concerned with women's issues and gender equality - state actors, aid agencies, development professionals and feminist activists and advocates - were using the term empowerment. A careful analysis of the policy documents reveals that there is no clear definition of empowerment of women in them. The concept has been so overused and misused that it has lost its core meaning, thus making it very complex and highly contested. Most programmes have no clarity as to how they will change existing power relations between men and women which is the root cause of inequality in social, economic and political spheres.

At the core of the concept of empowerment is power. In order to understand empowerment it is important we understand power. In social and political theory, power is a contested concept. There is no single agreeable definition of the concept of Empowerment. When we say that men are in a dominating position when compared to women it means that men are in a position of power over women. In social sciences and politics power is defined as the ability to control and influence the behavior of people. In Marxist tradition power operates around class and the relationships of power are created in the realm of economics. Marxist believes that political power in society is in the hands of those who control economic base. Italian communist, political leader

and activist Antonio Gramsci uses the term hegemony which refers to power that is social-political- economic-cultural all at once, rather than being limited to any one realm.<sup>3</sup> Gramsci uses “hegemony” to theorize not only the necessary condition for a successful overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat and its allies (e.g., the peasantry), but also the structures of bourgeois power in late 19th- and early 20th-century Western European states.<sup>4</sup> Gramsci’s “hegemony” refers to a process of moral and intellectual leadership through which dominated or subordinate classes of post-1870 industrial Western European nations consent to their own domination by ruling classes, as opposed to being simply forced or coerced into accepting inferior positions. The dominant class Gramsci is referring to is the bourgeois and the subordinate class is the proletariat. Hegemony here can be understood as a form of control exercised primarily through society’s superstructure. These superstructures are used in three ways namely institutions, forms of consciousness which express a particular class view of the world and political and cultural practices.<sup>5</sup> Gramsci hegemony power can also be used to analyze other power relations operating in society like gender relations or relations between the colonizer and the colonized and so on.

Michael Foucault a French Philosopher and historian parted with the Marxist interpretation of power relations, arguing that power is not essentially something that institutions possess and use oppressively against individuals and groups.

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<sup>3</sup> Mehrota Priya: 1990, *Western Philosophy and Indian Feminism*, Aravali Books International, New Delhi, p.26.

<sup>4</sup> Anderson Perry: 1976, *The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci*, New Left Review, pp.5-78.

<sup>5</sup> Williams Raymond: 1985, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, Revised Edition, Oxford University Press, New York, pp.144-146.

Foucault is not concerned with the oppressive aspect of power but more with the resistance of those the power is exerted upon. He opines that “where there is power there is resistance”.<sup>6</sup> According to him power is productive, causing new behavior to emerge, construction of 'new' capacities and modes of activity rather than through the limitation of pre-existing ones. Power is not something that can be owned but rather something that acts and manifests itself in a certain way, it is more a strategy than a possession. “Power is analyzed as something which circulates or as something which only functions in the form of a chain. . . Power is employed and exercised through a net like organization. Individuals are the vehicles of power not its point of application”.<sup>7</sup> Foucault declares that power produces reality, or regime of truth. Power and truth are inextricably bound together, in that power both makes the world and induces the truth to be spoken. Various types of power enforcement are used by institutions with specific techniques and mechanisms to establish regimes of truth. This truth is expressed through language/discourse. Discourse according to Foucault is related to power as it operates by rules of exclusion. The dominant discourses crush, divert, and mute contesting voices and interpretations, presenting each of their own perspectives and voices at the grassroots level. These muted voices are referred to as “subjugated knowledge”. Discourse therefore is controlled by objects, what

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<sup>6</sup> Foucault.M: 1978, *The History of Sexuality*, translated by Robert Hurley, Vol-1, Pantheon, New York, p.36.

<sup>7</sup> Foucault.M: 1980,*Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*,Harvester press, London, p.98

can be spoken of; ritual, where and how one may speak; and the privileged, who may speak. Power can manifest itself positively by producing knowledge and certain discourses that get internalized by individuals and guide the behaviour of populations. This leads to more efficient forms of social control, as knowledge enables individuals to govern themselves. Foucault further uses this notion of power to analyze Governmentality and Neoliberalism. In this case, the notion of Governmentality refers to societies where power is de-centered and its members play an active role in their own self-government. Individuals are regulated from 'inside'. In Neoliberal society market forces play an important role and the knowledge produced here allows the construction of auto-regulated or auto-correcting selves.

Steven Lukes, a Social Theorist is known for its most famous academic theory "three faces of power"<sup>8</sup>. This theory claims that governments control people in three ways: through decision-making power, non decision-making power and ideological power. Decision-making power is a behavioral attribute that applies to individuals to the extent that they are able to modify the behavior of other individuals within a decision-making process. The person with the power in a situation is the person who prevails in the decision-making process. Non decision-making power is to influence decisions by shaping the agenda and not merely by weighing in on existing decision points. For example assigning domestic responsibility to women is so deeply institutionalized in household rules

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<sup>8</sup> For details, Lukes Steven, 2005, *Power: A Radical View*, Second Edition, Palgrave Macmillan.

and practices that it appears non-negotiable. The third and most important face of power is ideological power, which is the power to influence people's wishes and thoughts, even making them want things opposed to their own self-interest. The best example for this is women supporting patriarchal society.

In most of these perspectives power is understood as domination, oppression, power over, subjection, control which is implicitly masculine connotations. This has led to feminist to reconceptualize power as a resource to be (re)distributed, as domination, and as empowerment<sup>9</sup>. Those who conceptualize power as a resource understand it as a positive social good that is currently unequally distributed amongst women and men. For feminists who understand power in this way, the goal is to redistribute this resource so that women will have power equal to men. Implicit in this view is the assumption that power is "a kind of stuff that can be possessed by individuals in greater or lesser amounts"<sup>10</sup>. The conception of power as a resource can be found in the work of some liberal feminists like Susan Moller Okin's work *Justice, Gender, and the Family*. The power described by liberal feminist was critiqued by Iris Marion Young who argues that power is not a stuff to be possessed but is a relation and not a thing that can be distributed or redistributed. This led to a new perspective on power as a relation of domination. This relation is often referred to as

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<sup>9</sup> Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, [www.plato.stanford.edu](http://www.plato.stanford.edu)

<sup>10</sup> Young Iris Marion: 1990, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton, New Jersey, p.31

oppression, patriarchy, subjection and other such terms and in all these terms power over relations/domination is a common factor.

It is this domination that various feminist approaches like phenomenology, radical feminism, socialist feminism, post-structuralism and analytic philosophy have attempted to conceptualize. In power as empowerment approach the feminist understanding of power is distinct from domination and is viewed as transformative power which aims at empowering those over whom it is exercised. Jean Baker Miller a practicing psychiatrist and psychoanalyst claims that “women's examination of power...can bring new understanding to the whole concept of power” .She defines power as “the capacity to produce a change — that is, to move anything from point A or state A to point B or state B”<sup>11</sup>. Sarah Lucia Hoagland is critical of the masculine conception of power with its focus on “state authority, police and armed forces, control of economic resources, control of technology, and hierarchy and chain of command”. Hoagland defines power as “power-from-within” which she understands as “the power of ability, of choice and engagement. It is creative; and hence it is an affecting and transforming power but not a controlling power”<sup>12</sup>. Similarly, french feminist Luce Irigaray,<sup>13</sup> questions the definition of power in phallographic cultures. According to them any change in the distribution of power, leaving intact the power structures in society is to accept the phallographic order. If the phallographic order has to be subverted then

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<sup>11</sup> Miller Jean Baker: 1992, *Towards a New Psychology of Women*, Second edition, Beacon Press, P.241.

<sup>12</sup> Hoagland. S.L.: 1988, *Lesbian Ethics: Towards New Value*, Institute of Lesbian Studies, pp.114-118.

<sup>13</sup> For details, Irigaray Luce: 1985, *This Sex which is not one*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, New York.

masculine definition of power must be rejected. Another French feminist Hélène Cixous further argues that power is not about mastering or exercising power over others, but instead is a form of “power over oneself”.<sup>14</sup> Along similar lines, Nancy Hartsock refers to the understanding of power “as energy and competence rather than dominance”.<sup>15</sup> Hannah Ardent defines power as the human ability not just to act but to act in concert which is similar to feminist conception of power as empowerment.<sup>16</sup> She focuses on communities or collective empowerment. This way of defining power as empowerment is more liberal and inclusive.

The different forms of power has been delineated by Jo Rowland as follows

- Power over: controlling power, this may be responded to with compliance, resistance or manipulations.
- Power to: generative or productive power which creates new possibilities and actions without domination.
- Power with: a sense of the whole being greater than the sum of the individuals, especially when a group tackles problem together.
- Power from within: the spiritual strength and uniqueness that resides in each one of us and makes us truly human. Its basis is self acceptance and self

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<sup>14</sup> Stanford Encyclopedia of philosophy, [www.plato.stanford.edu](http://www.plato.stanford.edu)

<sup>15</sup> Hartsock Nancy: 1983, Money, Sex, and Power: Towards a Feminist Historical, Materialism, Boston, Northeastern University Press, p.224.

<sup>16</sup> For details, Ardent Hannah: 1970, On Violence, New York, Harcourt Brace and Co

respect which extend in turn, to respect for and acceptance of others as equal<sup>17</sup>.

Having considered the meaning of power it is now the turn of the term empowerment. The review of various literature on empowerment reveals that empowerment of women is multi dimensional, which covers wide areas of personal, social, psychological, economical and political aspects. Understanding empowerment from feminist perspective is very crucial because in most of the recent development process empowerment of women is the main objective. But this is a difficult process as it takes policymakers out of their familiar conceptual territory of welfare, poverty and efficiency into the nebulous territory of power and social justice. Quantification and measurement of empowerment was also a difficult task. Various disciplines use the term empowerment, so an agreeable definition of empowerment is difficult; also perceptions of being empowered vary across time, culture and domains of a person's life. Oxford dictionary defines empowerment as to "Give (someone) the authority or power to do something".

The World Bank defines Empowerment as a process of enhancing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes. Central to this process are actions which both build individual and collective assets, and improve the efficiency and fairness of the organizational and institutional context which govern the use of these

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<sup>17</sup> Rowlands Jo: 1997, Questioning Empowerment, Working with Women in Honduras, Oxfam, United Kingdom & Ireland, p.13.

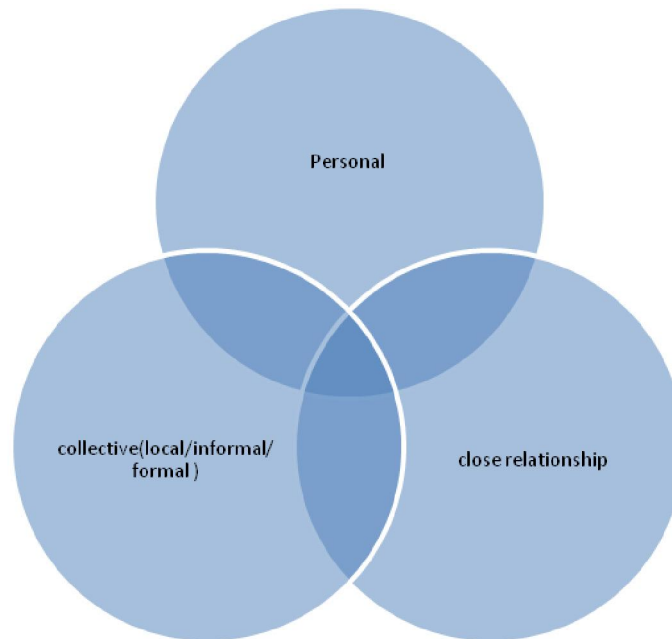


assets<sup>18</sup>. In the 1990s there was an increased appreciation for and understanding of women's pivotal role in the development process which has also been reflected in the goals and priorities of organizations and agencies in the United Nations system. In this regard, the United Nations Resident Coordinators are being called upon to play a key role in facilitating inter-agency cooperation on gender equality and equity and the empowerment of women, with particular emphasis on operational activities at the country level. The Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development(ICPD) stresses that the empowerment and autonomy of women and the improvement of their political, social, economic and health status is both a highly important end in itself and necessary for the achievement of sustainable human development. A common thread uniting each of the major international conferences of the 1990's is women's empowerment and it has been defined as follows. Women's empowerment has five components: women's sense of self-worth; their right to have and to determine choices; their right to have access to opportunities and resources; their right to have the power to control their own lives, both within and outside the home; and their ability to influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order, nationally and

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<sup>18</sup> [www.web.worldbank.org](http://www.web.worldbank.org)

internationally<sup>19</sup>. According to Rowland Jo empowerment has three dimensions: personal, relational and collective.



- Personal: developing a sense of self and individual confidence and capacity and undoing the effects of internalized oppression.
- Relational: developing the ability to negotiate and influence the nature of a relationship and decision made within it.
- Collective: where individuals work together to achieve a more extensive impact than each could have had alone. This includes involvement in political

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<sup>19</sup> Task Force on ICPD, Implementation, [www.un.org](http://www.un.org)

structures, but might also cover collective action based on co-operation rather than competition<sup>20</sup>.

According to Naila Kabeer 'Empowerment is the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them'<sup>21</sup>. Choices mean alternatives which are made of Resources, Agency and Achievement and are inter-related. Resources mean land, equipment, finance, skill, knowledge which is necessary to enhance the ability to exercise choice. Resources are distributed through a variety of different institutions and processes and access to resources will be determined by the rules, norms and practices which prevail in different institutional domains. These rules, norms and practices give some actors authority over others in determining the principles of distribution and exchange within that sphere. Agency is the ability to define one's goal and act upon them or individual decision making ability. Agency is controlled by the norms and rules which govern social behavior and ensures that certain outcomes are produced without the exercise of agency. Resource and Agency put together constitutes what Amartya Sen refers to as capabilities, the potential that people have for living the lives they want, of achieving valued way of being and doing. This particular way of being and doing is referred by Sen as Achievement which makes up the third part of choice. Another important dimension to understand choice is Structure. Structures

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<sup>20</sup> Rowland Jo, p. 14.

<sup>21</sup> Kabeer Naila: 2000, Discussing Women's Empowerment: Theory and Practice, Sida Studies No. 3, [www.sida.se](http://www.sida.se), p. 19

operate through the rules, norms and practices of different institutions to determine the resources, agency and achievement possibilities available to different groups of individuals in a society.

However choices of individuals and groups can in turn act on structural constraints, reinforcing, modifying and transforming them. Such a conceptualization of empowerment suggests that it can reflect change at a number of different possible levels. The levels of empowerment are

‘Deeper’ levels : Structural relations of class/caste/gender

Intermediate levels : Institutional rules and resources

Immediate levels : Individual resources, agency and achievement<sup>22</sup>

It can reflect change at the level of individuals and groups, in their sense of selfhood and identity, in how they perceive their interests and in their capacity to act. It can occur at the intermediate level, in the rules and relationships which prevail in the personal, social, economic and political spheres of life. And it can occur in the deeper, hidden structures which shape the distribution of resources and power in a society and re-produce it over time. However, for any such change to translate into meaningful and sustainable processes of empowerment, it must ultimately encompass both individual and structural levels.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid, pp.20-22.

Srilatha Batliwala defines empowerment as process of transforming the relations of power between individual and social groups shifting social power in three critical ways: Firstly by challenging the ideologies that justify social inequalities (such as gender or caste); secondly, by changing the prevailing patterns, of access to and control over economic, natural and intellectual resources and thirdly by transforming the institutions and structures that reinforce and sustain existing power structures<sup>23</sup> (such as family, state, market, education and media)

After a careful analysis of the various definitions of empowerment it can be summarized as an ability to transform the power relations between individual and groups and it is also about choices which are available for women. In order to achieve this change collective action of women has been emphasized. But in process of theory being adapted to practice the meaning of empowerment was altered. It is often used to envisage the individual rather than as collective, and focused on entrepreneurship and individual self- reliance, rather than co-operation to challenge power structures which subordinate women. Here it is important to note that empowerment has been understood to a large extent from a western free market perspective and has become popular alongside the increased focus on individualism and consumerism as development goals<sup>24</sup>. The

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<sup>23</sup> For details, Batliwala Srilatha: 1993, Empowerment of Women in South Asia, Asian-South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education, New Delhi.

<sup>24</sup> Rowland .J: 1998, A word of times, but, What does it mean? Empowerment in the Discourse and Practice of Development, in Afsar.H (ed) Women and Empowerment Illustrations from the Third World, Macmillan press, London, p.11

programmes with objective of empowering women were able provide access to certain resources like credit, education, skills etc but have not enabled women to question the structures which determine the unequal distribution of these resources and power in society. Since Empowerment of women is a bottom up approach, women must empower themselves and development agencies cannot claim to empower women. Development agencies only play the role of facilitators and ensure that women are able to analyze and voice their needs and concerns which must be converted into policy. Policy makers and planners will have to represent these voices from the grass roots and planning must cease to be a top down process.

The feminist of the third world have played a major role in bring empowerment of women into the main stream development discourse. The feminist movement in India has helped shape the development programmes which aim at eliminating the inequalities and poverty. It must be noted that the main objective of the feminist movement was 'to achieve the goals of equality and/or liberation for women'<sup>25</sup>. It is in this context that we shall be looking for a relationship between development process and feminist movement and therefore it is important to map the contribution of the feminist movement in attempting to transform the social power relations of Indian Society. In the movement for equality of women in India, the contribution of social reformers and the freedom

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<sup>25</sup> Omvedt Gail: 1979, The Participant study of Women's Movement, in Gerrit Huizer and Bruce Mannheim (ed): The Politics of Anthropology, The Hague mouton, p.374.

struggle have very great significance. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a result of initiative taken by educated Indian intelligentsia organizations like Brahma Samaj, Prarthana Samaj were established and women of their own families were encouraged to be part of these organizations and lead their women's wing. It was only in the Gandhian thinking that Feminist discourse took a definite form. He found that women's qualities of self sacrificing nature were more suitable for his non violent struggle. Gandhi legitimized and expanded Indian women's public activities by initiating them into civil disobedience movement against the British. In this way women began to be part of the national movement and gained a unique place in the struggle for independence. After independence the nationalist women were convinced that with independence the inequalities between man and women would be righted. In 1946 when the Constituent Assembly of India was formed 14 women were included as members. They were Ammu Swaminathan, Dakshayani Velayudhan, Durgabai Deshmukh, Hansa Mehta, Malti Chowdhury, Sucheta Kripalini, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Purnima Banerjee, kamala Chaudhuri, Begum Aizaz Rasul, Sarojini Naidu, Begum Jahanara Shan Nawaz, Lila Roy and Begum Ikramullah.

The country's concern in safeguarding the rights and privileges of women found its best expression in the constitution of India. While Article 14 confers equal rights and opportunities on men and women in the political, economic and social spheres, Article 15 prohibits discrimination against any citizen on the grounds of sex, religion, race, caste etc. and Article 15(3) empowers the state to

make affirmative discrimination in favour of women. Similarly, Article 16 provides for equality of opportunities in the matter of public appointments for all citizens, Article 39 stipulates that the state shall direct its policy towards providing men and women equally the right to means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work; Article 42 directs the state to make provisions for ensuring just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief; and Article 51(A) (e) imposes a fundamental duty on every citizen to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women. To make this de-jure equality into a de-facto one, many policies and programmes were put into action from time to time, besides enacting/enforcing special legislations, in favour of women. Many women were pleased with the constitutional provision and legal reforms. Belonging to the upper and middle class of the society they were the beneficiaries of the new opportunity. There was no need felt by the women's movement to press their demands as the new Indian state was a welfare state now.

In the early fifties, an attempt was made to reform and codify the Hindu Personal Law which was being demanded by the feminist since the 1930s. A committee was appointed under the chairmanship of B. N Rau who submitted the Bill in 1944. No action was taken and after independence under the chairmanship of B.R Ambedkar, the law minister a bill was submitted which raised the age of consent and marriage, upheld monogamy, gave women the rights to divorce, maintenance and inheritance, and treated dowry as *stridhan*, or women's property. There was strong opposition from conservative sections of the society,



and some senior congress leaders, such as President Rajendra Prasad and Sardar Patel led to the bill being postponed, despite strong support from a majority of congressmen and from women activists and social reformers. Finally sections of the bill were passed in four separate Acts: The Hindu Marriage Act, the Hindu succession Act, the Hindu minority and Guardianship Act, and the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act. Nehru who was the prime minister was criticized for not pushing through a more radical civil code for the Hindus and for not passing a uniform civil code applicable to all citizens<sup>26</sup>.

In 1953 the government established a central social Welfare Board with a nation –wide programme for grants in aid for certain specific activities. Many of the prominent women social workers were associated with this organization either at the centre or in the state. The women's organization became institutionalized. They designed programmes to serve women, especially day care centers, hostels for working women, educational centers, and medical dispensaries. The approach of these organizations has been 'Welfarist'<sup>27</sup>. By mid 1960s people began to express their disillusionment with government development policies, the prevalent economic rights, land rights and price rise. This led to number of struggles and peasant movements in the early interesting to the 1970s. The communist women were the most vocal in expressing their dissatisfaction with constitutional provisions, five year plan, and government. A

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<sup>26</sup> Chandra Bipan, Mukherjee Mridula and Mukherjee Aditya: 1999, *India after Independence, 1947-2000*, Penguin Book, p.143.

<sup>27</sup> Mathew M. and Nair M.S. 1986, *Women's Organisation and Women's Interests*, Ashish Publishing House, pp. 36-37.

series of locally organized and intense popular struggles broke out. What is particularly interesting for the women's movement were the Shahada and anti price rise agitation in Maharashtra, SEWA and Nav Nirman in Gujarat.

The first of these was the Shahada movement in 1972 in the Dhulia district of Maharashtra, initiated by Bhil (tribal) landless laborers against the extortionate practices of local landlords, most of who were non tribal and treated the tribes as sub human. In 1972 the Shramik Sangathana was formed in Shahada and fought against land alienation. Women played the most militant role. They led demonstration, invented and shouted militant slogans, sang revolutionary songs and mobilized the masses. In the negotiations with the landlords they proved to be more adamant than men<sup>28</sup>. As women were in the forefront of this movement women's issues such as wife beating was raised making a public issue out of what is generally regarded as a private problem. Anti-patriarchal sentiments were expressed in this movement.

The first attempt at a women's trade union was made with the formation of the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) at the initiative of Ela Bhat in 1972 in Ahmedabad. Women involved in various trades in the informal sector were brought together by their shared experiences such as low earnings, harassment at home, harassment by contractors and the police, poor work conditions, non-recognition of their labour etc. Its aim was to improve the

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<sup>28</sup> Kumar Radha: 1993, *The History of Doing, An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India 1800-1990*, Zubaan, New Delhi, p.99-101.

condition of poor women who worked in the unorganized sector by providing training, technical aids and collective bargaining.

The anti price rise agitation launched in Bombay in 1973 by Mrinal Gore of the Socialist Party and Ahalya Rangnekar of the CPI-M, together with others, mobilized women of the city against inflation. The movement grew rapidly becoming a mass movement for consumer protection. So many housewives got involved in the movement that a new form of protest was invented by women coming out in the streets and beating *thalis* (metal plates) with rolling pins. Soon the movement spread to Gujarat, becoming known as the Nav Nirman movement in 1974. This movement was originally a student's movement against soaring prices, corruption and black marketeering, which became a massive middle-class movement joined by thousands of women<sup>29</sup>.

Besides involvement in political and economic issues it was also concerned with those issues which were considered private such as family violence, domestic roles and challenged patriarchal stereotypes. The methods of protest ranged from mass hunger strike, mock funerals and Prabhat pheris. The Anti price rise movement and the Nav Nirman movements involved thousands of women in public action which is in itself significant. The movement soon declined.

The Chipko movement got its name from the Hindi word '*chipko*' which means to cling. This clinging to trees was a particular action people used to save

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p.103.

trees, which were crucial to their lives, from being felled. The movement began in 1973 in the small hilly town of Gopeshwar in Chamoli district when representatives from a sports factory came to cut trees. Women joined the movement in 1974 and with their united strength prevented the contractor from cutting trees. It became famous as the first major movement for saving the environment and gave rise to the understanding that women had a special nurturing role towards nature, and that environment issues were very often women's issues because they suffered most from its deterioration, as when forest disappeared and they had to walk for miles to collect fuel wood, fodder and water<sup>30</sup>. It was the women of Chipko who brought to public attention the importance of trees and the need to protect the environment.

Contemporary Women's Movement in India must be seen in the context of the broader canvas of the international Women's movement which spread across the world through the 20<sup>th</sup> century and with which the Indian women's movement has built solidarity. These links developed with exchange of ideas and experiences in international platforms such as the World Conference on Women held by the UN in Mexico in 1975. It declared 1975–1985 as the International Decade of the Woman. The *World Plan of Action* formulated during the Conference stressed the need for research, documentation and analyses into processes in society that create structures of gender inequalities. There had

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid, pp. 183-187.

been an internal demand for such a document in India as well, but the actual timing was in response to a United Nations request to all countries to prepare reports on the status of women for International women's Year scheduled for 1975. In India, the National Committee on the Status of Women had been set up to examine the status of women in the country and to investigate into the extent to which the constitutional and legal provisions had impacted on women's status including their employment and education. The Committee was the first major attempt to review and evaluate data on various aspects of women's status. It was also empowered to comment on the directions of change in women's roles, rights and opportunities due to development.

The Committee submitted its report called Toward Equality in 1974. The Authors of this report charged that woman's status had not improved but had, in fact declined since independence. The report revealed the deplorable condition of women in the country evident from demographic data, an analysis of the socio-cultural conditions prevalent, the legal provisions and safeguards, economic role played by women in all sectors, women's access to education, political participation, the policies and programmes for welfare and development, the impact of mass media, etc. But the main point of the report, that millions of Indian women have not benefited from "modernity" whether it be economic, technological, political, or social, remains true even today<sup>31</sup>. The report also made

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<sup>31</sup> Forbes Geraldine: 1998, Women in Modern in India, Cambridge university press, pp.226-227.

several recommendations which included stressing the important role of the State and the community in the achievement of 'gender equality'. It highlighted the need for a concerted effort to eradicate oppressive practices such as dowry, polygamy, bigamy, child marriage, ostentatious expenditure on weddings, and it emphasized the need for a campaign on legal awareness, the provisions of crèches, better working conditions for women including equal remuneration for equal work, the compulsory registration of marriages, law reform on aspects concerning divorce, maintenance, inheritance, adoption, guardianship maternity benefits, the universalisation of education, etc. But many of these recommendations were not implemented but the research made to bring out this report provided the intellectual foundation for a new women's movement.

This revelation led to the emergence of the contemporary feminist movement in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Many women's groups who were dissatisfied with their marginalization and the hierarchy and bureaucracy in the organizations in which they were affiliated earlier, began to look for alternatives. The result was many autonomous organizations were started which rejected formal hierarchical structure and traditional leadership styles and they experimented with leaderless collectives with decision making by consensus, a volunteering of tasks and rotation of responsibility. Among the earliest of these was the Progressive Women's Organisation (POW) in Osmania University in Hyderabad in 1974. It worked towards organizing women against gender oppressive structures in society, namely, the sexual division of labour and the

culture that rationalized this discrimination. The organization promoted the ideology of 'equality' and opposed the economic dependence of women on men. Influenced by the POW the Moaist women in Pune formed the Putrogami Stree Sangathana and the Moaist women in Bombay formed the Stree Mukti Sangathana in 1975. Another important organization that was formed during this period was the Mahila Samta Sainik Dal, this was movement started by the Dalit women. According to them religion was the main agent of oppression of women and the dalits, and the caste system as the source of inequality in India. The Mahila Dakshata Samiti the women's wing of the Janata Party, The Janawadi Mahila Samiti the women's wing of the CPM , the All India Democratic Women's Association of the CPM were all party affiliated organizations which also came into existence in the same period. These organizations began to bring family into the public arena with issues like dowry, female foeticide, wife battering, rights of women within the family etc.

The UN had declared 1975 as International Women's year and the women's organizations in India began to celebrate March 8 as International Women's Day. Many women's issues such as dowry, *devadasis* (prostitution sanctioned by religion) and the practical needs of women in their daily lives were taken up by these organizations; which brought the women's organization together to form the United Women's Liberation Struggle conference in Pune. This was followed by others such conferences in different parts of India. The most important aspect about these conferences is the class diversity and the

breadth of issues under discussion. The women's movement continued to play a major role in awakening a new consciousness about women's problem. This women's movement continued to focus on traditional practices, beliefs, and institutions as the source of oppression. It also addressed Violence against women, gender differences, and the impact of the economic situation on the day to day lives of women<sup>32</sup>. In the 1980's women groups started to protest against the rising incidents of dowry deaths especially in Delhi which had the highest dowry related deaths. The Mahila Dakshata Samiti was the first women's organization in Delhi to take up the issue of dowry. The Stri Sangharsha Samiti and other women's groups held demonstrations in Delhi. The women's organizations came out with evidences linking death –by –fire to dowry harassment and many suicides in official records were actually murders. They raised their voices against this situation and insisted on reforms in the police procedures. Finally due to the efforts of organizations like the Mahila Dakshata Samiti, The Janawadi Mahila Samiti, and the All India Democratic Women's Association an amendment to the Dowry Prohibition Act (1961) in 1984 was made. Apart from these organizations many women centers were established to provide legal aid, counseling and shelter to dowry victims. Saheli in Delhi was one such center which was established to address domestic violence and harassment. Dowry deaths have been reported from all cities and towns in India

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p. 249



and continue to exist even to this day. The research and publications have pointed out the demand for dowry as

product of consumerism being promoted by the capitalist society which has led to exploitation of women.

Another major campaign that emerged in 1980 was rape especially custodial rape. The Rameeza Bee case in 1978 in Hyderabad, the Mathura case in Maharashtra and the Maya Tyagi case in Western U.P in 1980 brought many women's groups all over India to demonstrate. Many political parties also joined the campaign. Finally a bill was introduced to amend the Evidence Act, the Criminal procedure Code and the Indian Penal Code and introduced the category of custodial rape and was considered the most heinous crime than other forms of rape. Many issues like Burden of Proof and problems related to acquiring evidence and the kind of social sanction accorded to rape are still under discussion and are not resolved.<sup>33</sup> Another important issue was when communalism started dictating the agenda for women's rights as in the Shah Bano case in 1985. The Supreme Court granted Shah Bano, a 75year old divorced Muslim woman, the right to financial support from her former husband under section 125 of the Criminal Procedure Code that requires husbands with means to support destitute ex-wives. This issue soon became communal and the Muslims considered it violation of Muslim personal law and challenged the right

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<sup>33</sup> Kumar Radha: p.128-136.

of the court to interfere in their law. Throughout India, conservative Muslims argued that this decision was an attack on their identity as a religious minority<sup>34</sup>. In 1985 Muslim Women's (Protection of Rights in Divorce) Bill denying women redress under section 125 and naming the natal family responsible for support in case of destitute was introduced. Over one lakh demonstrated in support of this bill and only a few hundred demonstrated in favour of the judgment. More over during the 1980s there was a steep rise in communal violence all over India. There was immense pressure on the Congress government to pass the Muslim Women's bill. In this case the problem and needs of women were given up and religious identity gained prominence.

In September 1987 the death of Roop Kanwar, an 18 year old woman committed Sati in the village of Deorala in Rajasthan. Very soon the site of immolation became a pilgrim spot. Roop Kanwar's father -in- law along with other prominent men from the village formed a trust called the Sati Dharm Raksha Samiti. Number of stalls sprang up selling photographs and souvenirs, food stalls and accommodation for pilgrims began to be organized. This incident sparked of a campaign which gave rise to a debate pitting modern against tradition, urban against rural, the state against spiritualism, and religious communities. The government reacted with legislation Sati Prevention Bill which outlawed its

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<sup>34</sup> Hasan Zoya: 1993, Communalism, State Policy and the Question of Women's Right in Contemporary India, Bulletin of Concerned scholars, 25 No., 4 (October-December), p.11.

glorification. The police arrested around 45 people for murdering Roop Kanwar and around 11 people including politicians were arrested for glorifying sati but were acquitted by the court for lack of evidence in 2004<sup>35</sup>.

The political development such as the growth of Globalization and the New Economic Policy reforms in India have showed positive as well as negative impact on women in general and rural women in particular. On the one hand globalization as opened up better facilities and opportunities to a privileged few women in urban areas on the other hand a large group of working women of India is in the rural and unorganized sectors are in a disadvantaged position. Agriculture production has under gone a drastic change. Subsistence farming gets displaced by market-linked production and farm lands are taken over for SEZs and mega development projects, the forest based resources are centralized and subsequently set up for private commercial interests who have displaced the existing subsistence use, women continue to be at the receiving end, negating the role of women as producers while foregrounding them as consumers<sup>36</sup>. Even within projects of urbanization and industrialization, it is the women who bear the brunt. The labor laws have been dismantled and the growth of unorganized sector where large number of women work, has increased women's economic vulnerability. The state has withdrawn its services in the public distribution system and the social sector. Since globalization has suddenly

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<sup>35</sup> Rajalakshmi T.K: 2004 February28- March 12, Sati and the verdict, Frontline.

<sup>36</sup> Prabeen Singh, The Problem , Seminar 583, Unequal Status a Symposium on New Challenges before the Women's Movement.

opened up in the Indian economy at a very high speed without the required economic and social policies to provide the much required safety net, women who have been involved with production in the traditional ways, have to cope with numerous problems and yet try to avail of the opportunities which an open economy promises. It is in this background that role of women's movement should be analyzed.

Women's movement during this period has confronted patriarchy and social values such as authoritarianism, aggression, competition and hierarchy in the family and society, and the oppression and exploitation imposed by dominant class, caste and patriarchal rule. Due to the untiring efforts of the women's movement, the country amended and enacted women-related legislations during the Tenth Plan. The Married Women's Property Act (1874), the Hindu Succession Act (1956) was amended and the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (PWDVA) (2005) was passed.

Unlike the other parts of India, Karnataka witnessed very few social movements. During the British rule a few sporadic peasant or farmers revolted against the British and later in the nationalist movements people of Karnataka participated in Forest Satyagraha, Civil Disobedience and Non-Cooperation etc. Women in Karnataka like in the rest of India were part of these movements. After independence Karnataka witnessed Ecology Movements, Farmers Movements, Dalit Movements and Tribal Movements. One important issue that received much attention in environment, during 1980, was of social forestry. Social Forestry

were supposed to provide fuel, fodder, timber, manure, fruits, oil, fibers and rate material for the rural people. But the transformation of social forestry into a monoculture had multiple effects on the ecology. It transformed a self sufficient economy into a market oriented deficit economy. It is a well established fact that the environment issue was women's issue as it would directly affect them. Large number of women participated in it. Another important movement is the farmer's movement. Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha (KRRS) is an Indian peasant farmers' movement, created in 1980 to address the growing problems facing farmers caused by the globalization of world trade. It was the first peoples' movement in India to mobilize massive demonstrations against GATT, and under the leadership of Professor Nanjundaswamy, a Gandhian socialist, and membership of the KRRS has reached about 10 million farmers, over one sixth of Karnataka's total population. The members are mostly small farmers (5-20 acres) and peasants, who find it difficult to compete with aggressive multinational corporations (MNCs). This movement also addresses issues concerning women. It aims to challenge patriarchal structures and calls for a mandatory ratio of parliament seats to be reserved for women. It also opposes the caste system, seeing it as one of India's key social injustices. The other movements in Karnataka are the Dalit Movement and tribal movements which fights for justice and equality. Women are being part of these movements but are still vulnerable. Any attempt to assert their rights they face opposition ranging from abuse to serious atrocities like rape and boycott. The best example is of the boycott of 80

Dalit families in Kodkol village<sup>37</sup> in Bijapur district in 2006 and of the Kambalapalli incident<sup>38</sup> in Kolar district in 2000 where seven dalits were burnt alive. These incidents only reflect that violence against Dalit women becomes a caste issue. Most often Dalit women will have no voice in such matters which curtails Dalit women's representation in these movements.

The process of development which impacted the Indian nation penetrated all regions within it. Karnataka which is one of the units in the Indian federal system has a long history of development which can be traced back to the days of the British rule. The Princely state of Mysore where Kannada speaking people were in a majority had achieved considerable progress due to the foresighted policies of its Dewans like Seshadri Iyer, Sir M Vishveshwariah and Sir Mirza Ismail. The Princely State had invested its funds in irrigation, dams, roads, electricity generation, free Public health and education and in public sector industries which put Mysore on the path of development before independence itself. In 1947 the Princely State of Mysore got integrated into the Indian Union and was considered Part B State of the Indian Union and did not receive any central financial assistance. But there was a demand from Kannada speaking people who were minority in other region to be united into a single political unit. This movement for unification led to the merger of five territories where Kannada was the language of the people.

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<sup>37</sup> The Hindu: 2006 October 23, Ostracised Kodkol Dalits want to be rehabilitated elsewhere.

<sup>38</sup> The Hindu: 2007 May 14, I will tell all if given protection says Kambalapalli witness.

- a) Four districts of the erstwhile Bombay state
- b) Three districts of the erstwhile princely state of Hyderabad
- c) Two districts and one taluk of the former Madras state
- d) The state of Coorg (Kodagu) and
- e) Nine district of the former princely state of Mysore

The New State was initially known as Mysore came into being as a state of the Union Of India on November 1 , 1950, but subsequently in 1973 it was renamed Karnataka, thereby fulfilling a long standing demand of the people of the State. At the time of Reorganization of the State there were 19 districts but over the time more districts have created. For administrative purpose the state is divided into 30 districts.

The plan of development outlined by the Planning Commission was implemented through the Five Year Plans. The First Five year plan of Karnataka was confined only to Mysore State and Bellary District. Being an integral part of the aggregate national plan the Karnataka state plans have been devised on the lines of broad objective of national development. It must be remembered that most of the development policies were formulated by the central government and the state were only expected to implement them. The required compliance was induced by carrot and stick Policy. Financial assistance for State Plans was extended depending on the party that ruled both at the centre and at the state level. This state of affair continued for almost 20 years after independence. From the 1970's onwards the Governments in Karnataka stated to take initiatives for

the development of the state and many industries were encouraged by giving them incentives and subsidies. Though the overall growth rate of the State was reasonably good certain sectors like agriculture suffered. It must be noted that majority of the state's population were dependent on it. Some regions in the state and sections in the society continued to be backward. In order to address these issues the state has taken up many measures, but the focus here is on the initiatives for the development of women in Karnataka.

Women and child welfare in Karnataka during this period was under the Directorate of Social Welfare Department and most schemes implemented were welfare oriented such as opening Balwadis (Community Crèches and Pre Basic Schools) Maternity and Infant Health Services, Social education for women, Art and crafts Centers and some general cultural and recreational activities. This welfare approach in the state continued till the Fifth five year plan (1978-83). The Fifth five year plan marked a change in the strategy. A separate Directorate for Women and Child Welfare was started during this period. In the national plans Women now were seen not as targets of welfare but as actors in development which was reflected in the states plans also. Efforts were made by the Department to alleviate the suffering of women and children by giving them facilities of care, protection health services, nutrition, formal, non-formal and vocational education and introducing innovative schemes to enable women to supplement their family income and to better their standard of life. Thus women were now made to contributing for development. From the Ninth plan onwards



the issue of empowerment of women and engendering the development objective has occupied prominence in Karnataka. Taking into account the needs of women in different stages of their life many programmes have been implemented with empowerment as the main objective. In Karnataka the most popular and wide spread programme is the Stri Shakti. The main objective is to make women self reliant by inculcating the habit of saving and proper utilization of financial recourses. To empower women socially many health and educational schemes such as the National Rural Health Mission, Sarva Siksha Abhiyan, etc. are in progress so has to reach out to the poor women. Reservation of seats for women in the Panchayat is another major step towards empowering women politically. An attempt is made to analyze all the programmes and schemes implemented by government of Karnataka to empower women. In the subsequent chapters these programmes to empower women are analyzed. An attempt is made to understand the extent to which these programmes were able to penetrate into the structures of society in Karnataka which are responsible for disempowerment of women.

The challenges that the women's movement is facing at present stems from the vast diversities within India. Women are not a homogenous group and are divided along class, caste sexuality and disability and as parts of India develop at a faster rate, increased social and economic inequalities is giving rise to new problems like sexual harassment at the work place and in public transport. While changes are taking place in economic parameters, social

parameters are not keeping pace with this transformation. These conditions have given rise to strange volatility in the social system and thus are affecting women. There have been several incidents of molestation being reported recently by the media and has raised a crucial question of safety of women in public places like city streets, public transport, or in their own neighborhood. Violence and fear of violence have become an integral part of women's experience of public spaces in India. Traditional and conservative forces are trying to enforce a moral code of behavior on women in public places and moral policing by self appointed moral police have led to several attacks on women in public. The civil society and women's groups have a major role in finding solutions to this problem. But the solution has to emerge from consultative process where the voices of all people, especially vulnerable population, are heard and given value.

The Indian State over the last few decades has responded to the demands of the women's movement in many ways. The state has co-opted the ideas and language of the women's movement to acquire legitimacy. "Empowering women" through special development programmes and granting reservations in local self governments, have not matched by changes for women, either at the grass root level or at various levels of the political system such as the government and political parties<sup>3939</sup>. Women's movement is now challenging the states projection of self help groups as a panacea for women's empowerment and poverty reduction, because the ground reality is that they fail to address the

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<sup>39</sup> Kalpana Mehta, Women's Movement in India, Seminar 583.

root of women's subordination and place the onus of poverty redressal on the poor, especially women. Women's participation in the Panchayat Raj Institutions is also been viewed critical as the voices of the poor women are not converted into policies.

## CHAPTER II

### DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

After World War II development was posited by the World Bank and other post-war institutions as universal, inevitable and inherently valuable and as something that naturally springs from the boon of enlightenment. Many Western thinkers and Policy makers saw conditions such as poverty and backwardness in Asia, Africa and Latin America as a problem. Thus a new domain of thought and experience namely development came into being, resulting in a new strategy for dealing with alleged problem<sup>1</sup>. The western experts and policy makers assumed that countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which is often called as Third World countries and more recently they are also referred to as Economic South, could gradually, but steadily be helped to achieve development if they adopted political and economic systems similar to those in the industrialized world. So now the countries in Asia Africa and Latin America who were liberated from the colonial rule began to look upon themselves as underdeveloped and how “to develop” became a fundamental issue for these countries. These underdeveloped countries in order to develop “embarked upon the task of un-under developing themselves by subjecting their societies to increasingly, systematic, detailed and comprehensive interventions”<sup>2</sup>. The World Bank and

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<sup>1</sup> Escobar, A: 1995, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, pp.3-10.

<sup>2</sup> Hall. S: 1996, *The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power*, in Hall. S, Held. D, Hubert and Thompson. K(ed), *Modernity: An introduction to Modern Societies*, Open University Press, London, pp.184-228.

other post war institutions which were dominated by European countries assisted the third world/underdeveloped countries in this task of development. Europe was able to maintain its dominance over the so called backward/ underdeveloped / third world countries by producing a discourse of difference<sup>3</sup>. In this discourse Europe described the difference between itself and others by assuming that everything European was superior to any aspect of the third world. This aspect can be explained through centre/periphery dichotomy<sup>4</sup>, in which, being western is equated with a society that is developed, industrialized, urbanized, capitalist, secular and modern<sup>5</sup>, and the Third World nations as backward, traditional and primitive implying that West is the centre and everything that lay outside that centre was considered as marginal or the periphery of culture, power and civilization. This domination of the west is reflected even in how women were constructed in non western society. By taking the west as the norm and imposing it on other parts of the world, the third world women are positioned as different and deviant<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, a homogeneous image of the third world women as helpless and oppressed is created. The discourse also considered Third World Women as an impediment to development. The colonial authorities and post war development agencies considered only women as wives and mothers and had ignored women's productive role. The discourse does this by being disengaged from other scales such as the local or

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid, pp.184-228

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, pp.184-228.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, pp.184-228

<sup>6</sup> Mohanty: 1991, *Under western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses in Third World Women and The Politics of Feminism*(ed) by Mohanty, Russo, Torres, Indiana University Press, pp.213-215.

community level, not considering regional, class, ethnic and gender difference between places continuing to treat the subjects of development as subordinate and lacking knowledge and by not including the subject's voices and opinion in development policies and practices<sup>7</sup>. It was this discourse that influenced the policy makers of the Third World nations. As a result, Plans were designed on the assumption that productive work was performed entirely by men. This discourse gave rise to the welfare approach and women became beneficiaries of various welfare programmes.

The third world nations also believed that European countries had developed because of the centralized top down approaches. Thus centralization became the model for development of emerging nations in Africa, Latin America and Asia reinforced by donor agencies including the World Bank<sup>8</sup>. These governments considered welfare of the people especially women has their duty and began to design programmes and policy for the benefit of women. But the welfare approach was unable to eliminate poverty among women. Many studies have revealed that instead of improving women's rights and status, the development process had contributed to a deterioration of their position<sup>9</sup>. In the 1970s women who were involved in development began to question the welfare approach. In 1975 the World Conference of the International Women's year at Mexico and the UN Decade for Women (1975-1988) raised women issues such as improved

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<sup>7</sup> Lawson Victoria: 2007, Making Development Geography, Hodder Education, U.K, pp.36-40.

<sup>8</sup> Johnson .I: 1997 b, Rural Development: From Vision to Action, Monograph series 12 World Bank.

<sup>9</sup> Tinker, Irene and Michele Bo Bramsen (ed): 1976, Women and World Development, Overseas Development Council, Washington D.C.

educational and employment opportunities, equality in political and social participation and increased health and welfare services. During the same period the feminist movement in the USA was demanding equal rights, employment, equity and citizenship for women. In 1970 Ester Boserup book 'Women's Role in Economic Development' was published. The book challenged the assumptions of the welfare approach. All these events had a global impact and led to the growth of Women in Development movement. Many conferences were held to mark the UN Decade for Women and recommendations were made for the establishment of international and national machinery to promote women's interests. Women in Development (WID) movement recognized women's productive role and aimed at integrating women into the economy as a means of improving their status<sup>10</sup>. This led to many third world governments to design policies and programmes which aimed education, training and creation of employment opportunities for women so that they can contribute to the development of country.

In the mid-1980s two major changes took place that has impacted the third world women. Firstly governments worldwide realized that centralized top down approaches had failed to reduce poverty and began to decentralize some responsibilities, decision making authority and resources to intermediate and local governments. Secondly during the same time Neo-Liberal movement had gained momentum. Free trade in goods and services, free circulation of capital and freedom of investment was the main objective

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<sup>10</sup> Parpart .L.Jane: 1993, Who is the other? : A post modern Feminist Critique of Women and Development, Theory and Practice in Development and Change, volume 24, Issue 3, pp.439-457.

of neo-liberalism. Trade liberalization was promoted under the assumption that trade will lead to increased productivity, growth and completion and reduce poverty levels. World Bank and IMF played an important role in promoting neo-liberal ideas<sup>11</sup>. Liberalizing reforms became IMF's standard approach to the financial crisis of all developing countries. This resulted in developing countries making structural changes in their economies to be part of the globalization process. They began to open their markets to international competition. On the one hand decentralization led to devolution of power to local bodies and on the other hand liberalization opened the rural societies to market forces. In this process large section of society were marginalized specifically women. Rural women lost the traditional rights over agricultural production and now had to produce for the markets. This lowered the economic status of women in developing countries, and was reflected in the level of their participation in decision making process at all levels. Though women comprise 50% of the total world population they are not present in the decision making process at all level.

But it must be noted that equity issues often received cursory treatment as development planners emphasized basic human needs particularly for health, education and training as well as equal access to credit and marketing facilities and greater access to land and legal reforms. The WID policy makers did not understand the lived realities and experience of the Third world women and development for third world women meant

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<sup>11</sup> For details, Felix D. 2003, the Past as Future? The Contribution of Financial Globalization to the current crisis of Neo-liberalism as a Development Strategy, Washington University.



becoming more western, more modern<sup>12</sup>. The third world women now began to question the WID approach which focused on women in isolation. This approach never challenged the power relations between men and women. Status and power differentials between men and women came to be emphasized. Gender was analyzed as a construction of the identities, roles and relations of people on the ground of sexual difference<sup>13</sup>. The social constructions of gender was reinforced by social activities that both define and are defined by them<sup>14</sup>. This sociological approach on gender became a useful and gave rise to Gender and Development (GAD) in 1980s. . This evolution in thinking has led to a major shift from a focus on women specific project to mainstreaming women/gender at the programme and policy level<sup>15</sup>. It was from these roots that the notion of empowerment grew and it came to be most clearly articulated in 1985 by Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) as the Empowerment approach. The Empowerment approach also brought issues of power as it relates to gender which gave rise to strategies for empowering women<sup>16</sup>. Since 1990's Empowerment has become a major goal of all international and national agencies which are working in the field of development.

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<sup>12</sup> Parapat Jain, pp.439-457.

<sup>13</sup> Rajan Rajeshwari Sunder and Park You Me 2002, Post Colonial Feminism/Postcolonialism and Feminism in Henry Schwarz, Sangeetha Ray (ed.) A companion Post Colonial Studies, Blackwell Publishing, pp. 60-66.

<sup>14</sup> Moore.L Hanriette, 1998, Feminism and Anthropology, University of Minnesota Press, pp.15-16.

<sup>15</sup> Razvi and Miller Carol: 1995, From WID to GAD, conceptual shift in the Women and Development Discourse, UN Research Institute for social development, Geneva, [www.unrisd.org](http://www.unrisd.org)

<sup>16</sup> Rowland Jo, pp.6-8.

The UN has played a significant role in taking up the cause of the marginalized, especially women. Report of the world conference of the UN Decade for Women Equality, Copenhagen 1980; The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women 1979; The Cairo conference 1994; Report of the fourth World conference on women, Beijing, 1995, Report of the Human Development, UNDP, 1995; The inter-parliamentary Union Report 1998; etc were the efforts made by the UN to promote women's empowerment. Empowerment of women was also addressed by the Millennium Summit in 2000; the Millennium Development Goals was adopted by all UN member states. Of the eight goals promoting gender equality and empowering women was one of them. The developing nations were given financial aid by developed countries, World Bank, IMF and other such organizations to achieve the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. All these efforts of the UN led to the member nations to formulate policies and programs that were necessary for women's empowerment. Empowerment has become such an important concept that it has affected a large number of women in their daily life. It was this development discourse that dominated India's development strategies.

### **Development Strategies in India**

During the colonial era, government's economic policies in India were concerned more with protecting and promoting British interests than with advancing the Welfare of the Indian population. At the time of Independence India inherited an impoverished economy. The Indian economy was

overwhelmingly rural and agricultural in character. There were few modern industries and bulks of the industries were traditional cottage and small scale processing activities. Capital formation was inadequate to bring about rapid improvement in per capita income. Immediately following the transfer of power, the government's main concern was to put India on the path of development so that all sections in society could benefit from it. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 had signaled acceptance and the principle that the government will play a major role in initiating and regulating development of the economy.

This led to the setting up of the planning commission in 1950 for economic development of the country. It was a challenging task for the planning commission to evolve and enforce policies and programme designed to best serve the interest of the country as a whole and simultaneously accommodate the interest of big industrialists, the hope of Gandhian miniaturists, the ambitions of Nehruvian intellectuals and those of a rural landed elite<sup>17</sup>. The planning commission focused on women's issues as per the perceptions of their members on women's status within the economy<sup>18</sup>. It is important to analyze the development strategies and how the perceptions on women's status within it changed over the years from welfare to development to empowerment can be seen in the Table-2.1.

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<sup>17</sup> Khilnani, Sunil: 1997, *The idea of India*, Penguin, pp.17-20.

<sup>18</sup> Patel.V: 2003, March, *Gender Budget-Case study of India*, Working Paper, UDE (CAS) 7(7).

**TABLE -2.1 : CHART OUTLINING THE SHIFT IN PERCEPTION WITH  
RESPECT TO WOMEN IN THE PLANS**

Plan	Activity	Approach
First Plan 1951-56	Set up the Central Social Welfare Board	Welfare work through voluntary organizations and charitable trusts
Second Plan (1956-1961)	Supported the development of Mahila Mandals to work at the grassroots	Rural Development
Third, fourth and interim plans (1961-1974)	Provisions for women's education, pre- natal and child health services, supplementary feeding for children, nursing and expectant mothers	Women as “targets” of family planning and social sector “beneficiaries”
Fifth Plan (1974-1978)	Programmes and schemes for women in development	Shift in the approach from welfare to development
Sixth Plan (1980-1985)	Separate Chapter on Women in the Plan	Accepted women's development as a separate economic agenda; took a multi-disciplinary approach with a three- pronged thrust on health, education and Employment
Seventh Plan (1985-1990)	Working Group on Employment of Women; Statistics on women: Quota for women in development schemes	Bringing women into the mainstream of national development.

Plan	Activity	Approach
Eighth Plan (1992-1997)	The core sectors of education, health and employment outlay for women rose from Rs. 4 crores in the first plan to Rs. 2,000 crores in the eighth	Paradigm shift from development to empowerment and benefits to women
Ninth Plan (1997-2002)	Concept of a women's component plan to assure that at least 30% of funds/benefits from all development sectors flow to women	Empowerment of women as its strategic objective
Tenth Plan (2002-2007)	Self help groups	Suggests specific strategies, policies and programmes for the empowerment of women

*Source: (Feminist Economist Engage with India's 11th Five year Plan by Syeda Hameed & Devaki Jain, Paper for the IAFFE Conference on Engendering Economic Policy, Boston 2009.*

The welfare approach to development though began with the First Five Year Plan but an effort to address women's welfare was made as early as 1939. The Indian National Congress constituted the National Planning commission, headed by Jawaharlal Nehru. The Commission in 1939 appointed a sub-committee brought out the document "Women's Role in the Planned Economy" which reflected the changing consciousness and the

vision of women in the anti colonial struggle of a new socio economic order where in women would have an important role to play. The sub-committee was to deal with the place of woman in the planned economy<sup>19</sup>. It must be noted that most of these issues and recommendations by the committee were not incorporated into the first five year plan. Women's role was only considered a 'social and welfare', and clubbed together with the welfare of the disadvantaged groups like destitute disabled aged etc. The reason being that it takes policy makers out of their familiar conceptual territory of welfare, poverty and efficiency into the nebulous territory of power and social justice<sup>20</sup>. During this period it became the duty of the government to look to the welfare of women<sup>21</sup>. The Central Social Welfare Board set up in 1953 and acted as an Apex Body at national level to promote voluntary action at various levels, especially at the grassroots, to take up welfare related activities for women and children. The second to Fifth Plan (1956-1979) continued to reflect the very same welfare approach, besides giving priority to women's education and launching measures to improve material and child health services, supplementary feeding for children and expectant and nursing mother. Such approaches viewed women as passive subjects of protection or as recipients of marginal welfare and social services, unrelated to policies and strategies for economic development or structural changes in

<sup>19</sup> Shah.K.T: 1947, Women's role in Planned Economy, "Report of the subcommittee" , National Planning Committee Series, Vora and Co Publishers, Bombay.

<sup>20</sup> Kabeer Naila: 2001, Resources, Agency, Achievement: Reflections on the measurement of Women's Empowerment, Theory and Practice, Sudda Studies-3, pp.435-438.

<sup>21</sup> Devendra. K: 1994, Changing status of Women in India, Vikas Publication House Pvt Ltd, pp.30-32.

societies as a result of economic changes<sup>22</sup>. Women's role was being considered social and welfare also matches with the international approach at that time that women were a social and welfare subjects<sup>23</sup>.

The Welfare approach remained till 1975 when a Report of the Committee on Status of Women in India, Towards Equality was published. This report pointed out that “women were increasingly marginalized, they face more violence in their lives than ever before, the sex ratio had worsened as had condition of work”. And shortly after the report was published from the late seventies on there was a perceptible shift in state policy, for women now began to be seen not as targets of welfare but as actors in development<sup>24</sup>. It was in this background that development approach to women was initiated.

During 1980 and 1990 efforts were made for women enter into the modern sector<sup>25</sup> i.e., to enter the labour market and take part in the capitalist production<sup>26</sup> so that women could contribute to development<sup>27</sup>. Along with productive role (especially subsistence production), reproductive role (child bearing/rearing responsibilities and domestic tasks) and community management role (in order to ensure the provision and maintenance of

<sup>22</sup> Pandey A. K: 2002(ed), Emerging issues in empowerment of women, Anmol publication Ltd.

<sup>23</sup> Jain. D, Hameed .S,2009, Feminist Economist engage with India's 11th Five Year Plan, Paper for the IAFPE Conference on Engendering Economic Policy, Boston, <http://devakijain.com>

<sup>24</sup> Butalia.U: 1998, Analysing the Status of Women in India in Chari P.R(ed), Question at the end of a half century in India Towards Millennium, Manohar, pp.103-110.

<sup>25</sup> Saunders. K: 2002, Introduction: Towards a Deconstructive Post-Development Criticism, in Saunders Kriemild: (ed), Feminist Post Development Thought, Zed Book, London and New York, pp.1-30.

<sup>26</sup> Parpart Jane: 2002, Lessons from the field: Rethinking Empowerment, Gender and Development From a Post Development Perspective in Saunders Kriemild: (ed), Feminist Post Development Thought, Zed Book, London and New York, pp.41-50.

<sup>27</sup> Razvi and Miller Carol:1995,op.cit

collective consumption resources)<sup>28</sup> women had to produce for the markets. Accordingly the sixth plan (1980-85) adopted a multi disciplinary approach with a special thrust on the three core sector of health, education and employment. The Department of Women and Child Development was set up in the year 1985 as a part of the Ministry of Human Resource Development to give the much needed impetus to the holistic development of women and children.

In the seventh plan (1985-90) the developmental programmes continued with major objective of raising their economic and social status and bring them into the mainstream of national development. A significant step in this direction was to identify/promote the Beneficiary-oriented Schemes (BOS) in various developmental sectors which extended direct benefits to women. The thrust on generation of both skilled and unskilled employment through proper education and vocation training continued. In this development strategy, women's burden of work increased<sup>29</sup> This approach however made no appreciable impact upon poverty alleviation, reducing women in particular to even further levels of destitutions as mechanization displaced them from their tradition occupations, the devastation of natural resources made their subsistence labour more difficult , male migration to urban centers in search of employment left them to cope with family responsibilities and struggle with land and few governmental

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<sup>28</sup> Mose: 1989, Gender planning in the Third world, Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs, World Development, Volume7 No., 11

<sup>29</sup> Butalia.U: 1998, pp.103-110, op.cit.



welfare measures, land reforms, or health, literacy and employment programs touched them<sup>30</sup>. Women were not able to take advantage of the economic growth to the same extent as men and the poverty among women has only increased<sup>31</sup>.

In the 1990s, India initiated a process of economic reform and structural adjustment resulting in what came to be known as new economic policy. This system works only by producing and selling things and services, and the more that is produced and the more that is purchased the more there is progress and prosperity. Gross National Product the most important measure of economic growth is the sum total of goods and services produced by a given year. It is a measure of the success of a consumer society obviously to consume<sup>32</sup>. This consumerist economy produced consumers with extensive range of products and services that were not easily available before. In 1993 the 73rd and 74th Amendment to the Constitution ensured that 33% seats for panchayats in rural areas and urban local bodies were to be reserved for women. This ensured the direct involvement of women in positions of decision making. Decentralization and Economic Reforms have been two major policy imperatives in the 1990s. Mainstreaming of women into the new and emerging areas of growth became imperative. Women were now encouraged to participate in the decision making process in the economic and political sphere so that they

<sup>30</sup> Rajan Rajeswari Sunder and Park You Me: 2002, op.cit.

<sup>31</sup> INSTRAW: 2005, Women and Poverty: New challenges in Review and Appraisal of Beijing Platform for Action, [www.uninstraw.org](http://www.uninstraw.org).

<sup>32</sup> Robbins R.H: 2004, Global Problems and the Culture of Capitalism, Allyn and Bacon, pp.14-15.

could influence matters that affect their lives in society. The result was participatory/ empowerment approach became the main objective as the government was now under the influence of the feminist and other international organization.

It was during the Eighth five year plan (1992-1997) with human development as its major focus, played a very important role in the development of women. It promised to ensure that benefits of development from different sectors do not by-pass women, implement special programmes to complement the general development programmes and to monitor the flow of benefits to women from other development sectors and enable women to function as equal partners and participants in the development process. In 1992 the National Commission for Women a statutory body set up as a nodal agency to safeguard the rights and interests of women. Its major objectives are to investigate, examine and review all matters relating to the safeguards provided for women under the constitution review of both women –specific and women related legislations and suggest amendments wherever needed and to function as an agency to keep surveillance and facilitate redresses grievances of women. Of the total 41 legislations having a direct bearing on women, the commission reviewed and suggested remedial legislative measures in respect of 32 Acts and forwarded the same to the government for further action.

## **Legislative Support for Women**

### **Women specific Legislations**

- The Immoral Traffic(Prevention)Act 1956.
- The Dowry Prohibition Act 1961 (28 of 1961)
- The Indecent Representation of Women(Prohibition)Act, 1986
- The Commission of Sati(Prevention)Act 1987 (3 of 1988)

### **Women related Legislations**

- The Guardians and Wards Act 1860 (8 of 1890)
- Indian Penal Code 1860
- The Christian Marriage Act 1872 (15 of 1872)
- The Indian Evidence Act 1872 (yet to be reviewed)
- The Married Women's Property Act 1874 (3 of 1874)
- The Workmen's Compensation Act 1923
- The Legal Practitioners (Women) Act 1923
- The Indian Succession Act 1925 (39 of 1925)
- The Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929 (19 of 1929)
- The Payments of Wages Act 1936
- The Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act 1937
- The Factories Act 1948
- The Minimum Wages Act 1948
- The Employees State Insurance Act 1948
- The Plantation Act 1951
- The Cinematograph Act 1952
- The Special Marriage Act 1954
- The Hindu Marriage Act 1955
- The Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act 1956
- The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act 1956
- The Hindu Succession Act 1956
- The Maternity Benefit Act 1961

- The Beedi and Cigar Workers (Conditions of Employment) Act 1966
- The Foreign Marriage Act 1969
- The Indian Divorce Act 1969
- The Medical Termination Act 1971
- The Code of Criminal Procedure 1973
- The Bonded Labour System (Abolition ) Act 1976
- The Equal Remuneration Act 1976
- The Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act 1979
- The Inter-state Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Condition of Service) Act 1979
- The Family Courts Act 1984
- The Juvenile Justice Act 1986
- The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986
- The National Commission for Women Act 1990
- The Infant Milk Substitutes, Feeding Bottles and Infant Foods (Regulation of Production, Supply and Distribution) Act 1992
- The Pre Natal Diagnostic Technique (Regulation and Prevention of misuse) Act 1994

Another major initiative taken by the government was setting up of the Rashtriya Mahila Kosh in 1993 as a national level mechanism to meet the credit needs of the poor and assetless women in the informal sector. RMK has taken a number of promotional measures to popularize the concept of microfinancing, thrift credit, formation and stabilization of SHGs and also enterprise development for poor women.

The Ninth Plan (1997-2002) made two significant changes in the conceptual strategy of planning for women. Firstly empowerment of women became one of the nine primary objectives of the ninth plan. To this effect,

the Approach of the plan was to create an enabling environment where women could freely exercise their rights both within and outside home, as equal partners along with men. Secondly, the convergence of existing services available in both women-specific and women related sectors, To this effect, it directed both centre and the states to adopt a special strategy of Women's Component Plan whereby identified Ministries were required to assure that at least 30% of funds/benefits flow to women'. Other major initiative during this period were introduction of Gender Budgeting to attain more effective targeting of public expenditure and to offset any undesirable gender specific consequences of previous budgetary measures. However the Ninth Plan refrained from making any commitment for achieving any specific goal or target.

In 2001 the National Policy for Empowerment of Women was adopted to eliminate all types of discrimination against women and to ensure gender justice, besides empowering women both socially and economically. The goal of this Policy is to bring about the advancement, development and empowerment of women. The Policy will be widely disseminated so as to encourage active participation of all stakeholders for achieving its goals. Specifically, the objectives of this Policy include

- Creating an environment through positive economic and social policies for full development of women to enable them to realize their full potential

- The de-jure and de-facto enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedom by women on equal basis with men in all spheres – political, economic, social, cultural and civil
- Equal access to participation and decision making of women in social, political and economic life of the nation
- Equal access to women to health care, quality education at all levels, career and vocational guidance, employment, equal remuneration, occupational health and safety, social security and public office etc.
- Strengthening legal systems aimed at elimination of all forms of discrimination against women
- Changing societal attitudes and community practices by active participation and involvement of both men and women.
- Mainstreaming a gender perspective in the development process.
- Elimination of discrimination and all forms of violence against women and the girl child; and
- Building and strengthening partnerships with civil society, particularly women's organizations.

The Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-07) adopted a sector –specific 3 fold Strategy for empowering women, based on the prescriptions of the National policy for Empowerment of Women. They include:

- Social Empowerment – to create an enabling environment through various affirmative development policies and programmes for development of women besides providing them easy and equal

access to all the basic minimum services so as to enable them to realize their full potentials.

- Economic Empowerment –to ensure provision of training, employment and income generating activities with both ‘forward and backward linkages with the ultimate objective of making all potential women economically independent and self reliant and
- Gender justice- to eliminate all forms of gender discrimination and thus allow women to enjoy not only the de-jure but also the de-facto rights and fundamental freedom on par with men in all spheres, viz., political, economic, social, civil, cultural etc.

The approach to the tenth plan for empowering women was distinct from that of the earlier plans, as it had definite goals, targets and a time-frame. This plan envisaged that empowerment of women as a process demands a life cycle approach. Therefore every stage of their life counts as priority in the planning process. Depending upon the developmental needs at every stage, female population has been categorized into 5 distinct sub-groups they include

- Girl children in the age –group 0to 14 years, they deserve special attention because of the gender bias and discrimination they suffer from at such a tender age,
- Adolescent girls in the age group 15-19 years are very sensitive from the view point of planning because of the preparatory stage for their future productive and reproductive roles in the society and family, respectively

- Women in the reproductive age-group 15-44 years need special care and attention because of their reproductive needs
- Women in the economically active age-group 15-59 years have different demands like those of education/ training, employment, income generation and participation in the developmental process, decision making etc
- The elderly women in the age group 60+ years have limited needs mainly relating to health, financial and emotional support.

In 2006 the Department of Women and Child Development was upgraded to a ministry. As a nodal Ministry for the advancement of women and children, the Ministry formulates plans, policies and programmes, enacts/ amends legislation, guides and co ordinate the efforts of both governmental and non-governmental organizations working in the field of women and child Development. Besides, playing its nodal role, the ministry implements certain innovative programmes for women and children. These programmes cover Empowering strategies, welfare and support services, training for employment and income generation, awareness generation and gender sensitization. These programmes play a supplementary and complementary role to the other general developmental programmes in the sectors of health, education, rural development etc. All these efforts are directed to ensure that women are empowered both economically and socially and thus become equal partners in national development along with men. The Ministry has six autonomous organizations viz.,



1. National Institute of Public Co-operation and Child Development (NIPCCD)
2. National Commission for Women (NCW)
3. National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR)
4. Central Adoption Resource Agency (CARA)
5. Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB)
6. Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (RMK)

Despite of all these efforts women and children continued to be victims of violence, neglect and injustice. The Eleventh plan aimed at addressing these problems by looking at gender as a cross cutting theme. In this plan, women's agency and the need for women's empowerment are emphasized and, for the first time, women were considered not just as equal citizens but as agents of economic and social growth. It recognized that women and children were not homogenous categories; they belong to diverse castes, classes, communities, economic groups, and are located within a range of geographic and development zones. The approach to gender equity is based on the recognition that interventions in favour of women must be multi-pronged and they must:

- (a) provide women with basic entitlements
- (b) address the reality of globalization and its impact on women by prioritizing economic empowerment

- (c) ensure an environment free from all forms of violence against women(VAM)-physical, economic, social, psychological etc
- (d) ensure the participation and adequate representation of women at the highest policy levels, particularly in parliament and state assemblies, and
- (e) strengthen existing institutional mechanisms and create new ones for gender main-streaming and effective policy implementation.

Strategies like participatory approach were designed to enhance the capacity of women and empower them to meet the negative social and economic impacts due to the process of globalization. Various programmes were designed so as to provide women access to resources such as credit, training for skill development and so on which were earlier denied to them. Participatory/ empowerment approach has increased the purchasing power of women which did not exist earlier and has created a new class of consumers. Participation will give a sense of psychological ownership and the illusion of empowerment which will diminish opportunities for resistance<sup>33</sup>. And once resistance is eliminated the unequal gender power relations will not be questioned and women will continue to perform the role assigned to them. Thus the participatory approach has re-inscribed another approach by attempting to erase the earlier welfare and development approach. Empowerment approach of development is enabling women to perform their gender roles more effectively and empowerment approach is

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<sup>33</sup> Cooke B: 2003 A New Continuity with Colonial Administration: Participation in Development Management, Third World Quarterly 24(1),pp.47-61.

reinforcing these cultural roles which are constructed. The empowerment approach is within the terms of dominant/hegemonic cultural formation and do not empower women to challenge the structures in society that create these power relation and hierarchy.

## **CHAPTER - III**

# **STATE POLICY TOWARDS SOCIAL EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN**

For centuries women have been oppressed and have been denied equal rights, self-autonomy and dignity. Their intelligence and skills have been ignored and were not accounted for in the process of development. The efforts made by the feminist movement and civil society organizations, and change began to occur in the attitude and behavior patterns in gender relations. These changes had to be inevitably incorporated into the Government Plans, Policies and Programmes because the state is accountable to people; the removal of poverty, inequality and social justice remain to be its cardinal principle and responsibility. This led to the government to formulate various strategies to empower women socially. The main objective to empower women socially is to create an enabling environment through various affirmative development policies and programmes for development of women besides providing them easy and equal access to all the basic minimum services so as to enable them to realize their full potential<sup>1</sup>. The National Policy for Empowerment of Women 2001 has highlighted some crucial sectors to empower women socially; they are health, nutrition, sanitation, housing, drinking water, education and a

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<sup>1</sup> Government of India, Tenth Five Year Plan, 2002 to 2007, Planning Commission,  
<http://planningcommission.gov.in>

violent free environment. Most of these programmes aim at providing various resources and services to poor women which are not accessible to women due to the patriarchal norms and lack of sufficient resources to meet these basic health needs. In this Chapter an attempt is made to take stock of the situation of women in respect to these indicators of development in the context of Karnataka.

### **Health**

Women are confronted with a number of challenges in terms of their health and nutritional needs as they are not just dependent on the availability and the access to health and nutritional services but are closely linked to their status in the society which constantly deprives them from getting these needs appropriately addressed. Poverty and economic dependence, gender bias and discrimination, limited freedom of choice over sexual and reproductive aspects and lack of decision making have an adverse impact on health of women. Thus women in India continue to grapple with unacceptably high rate of Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR), Infant Mortality Rate (IMR), and increase rates of anemia and malnutrition, HIV/AIDS etc. Since women's health is an important means of women's empowerment and quality of life, various policies and programmes have been launched by both the State and Central Government.

The total Population of Karnataka<sup>2</sup> is 6,11,30,704, of which 3,10,57,742 are male and 3,00,72,962 are female. The percentage share of

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<sup>2</sup> Registrar General of India, 2011, Census of India, New Delhi.

female population is 49.19%. The sex ratio of Karnataka in 1991 was 960 women per 1000men and 2001 the figures have slightly improved to 965.<sup>3</sup> The sex ratio of the 0-6 age group has declined sharply from 960 in 1991 to 943 in 2011<sup>4</sup>. Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) has declined over the years and in 2010 the IMR was 38 but the rural gap continues 43 IMR in rural areas and 28 IMR in urban areas<sup>5</sup>. This wide disparity in the sex ratio between male and female babies is because of the tradition of son – Preference. In India most families consider their daughter a liability, and is always treated inferior and subordinate to sons. This gender discrimination has led low sex ratio and is called the ‘missing women phenomena’ by Amartya Sen<sup>6</sup>. On biological grounds, mortality in infancy should be higher for male infants than female infants particularly in the first month of life. This wide disparity in IMR and sex ratio between male and female babies is because of the tradition of son-preference which has led to the practice of female feticide and female infanticide. This discrimination against female child was recognized by policy makers which led to passing the Pre Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act in 1994. This Act was passed to prevent pre natal sex determination and the use of ultra sound and other related technologies to eliminate unwanted female fetuses. But sex determination tests continue especially in urban areas and are unreported.

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<sup>3</sup> Registrar General of India, 2001, Census of India, New Delhi.

<sup>4</sup> Government of Karnataka, 2011-2012, Men and Women in Karnataka, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Bangalore.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Sen Amartya, 1990, December 20th Volume 37, No., 20, “More than 100 Million Women are Missing, The New York Review, New York.

Sex selection is more evident for the wealthiest women than for women in other wealth quintiles<sup>7</sup>. It has also been pointed out that sex ratio of all last births and last births of sterilized women show clearly that couples typically stop having children once they have the desired number of sons<sup>8</sup>. This clearly indicates that economic prosperity is not related to gender discrimination and it is the patriarchal tradition that is the cause of discrimination and it is this patriarchal value that should be challenged through awareness generation.

Maternal Mortality Rate in Karnataka is also very high. It is 178 per one lakh live births in 2010. The cause for MMR<sup>9</sup> is 10.7% the total births occur in women in the age group of 15-19 years and 60% of the total births occur in women in the age group of 20-24 years. In the case of 15-19 years girls their body is still maturing which increases the risk of maternal and child mortality. Early marriages also curtail women's access to education and it shorts the time needed to develop and mature unhampered by responsibilities of marriage and children. Most often the girls are married to men older to them. As the girls are married early they also become the youngest member of their husband's family and by virtue of their young age and relationship they are unlikely to negotiate for better health needs and plan their family as they themselves do not have the maturity. This is one of the reasons for high MMR, IMR and spread of HIV/ AIDS in Karnataka. MMR is considered as one of the significant indicator of women's health as it

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<sup>7</sup> National Family Health Survey(NFHS-3), 2005-2006, Volume -1, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, International Institute for population Science, Mumbai, p.205.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p.134.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 205

not only indicates the maternal death but also the quality and accessibility of health care services. The major cause for maternal deaths are due to Hemorrhage, Anemia, Sepsis, Obstructed labour, abortions and others which can be prevented easily through better reproductive care and nutrition. One of the most important programmatic goals for the state of Karnataka is reduction of MMR to 100 by the year 2012. The government has provided many facilities to the mothers but MMR continues. The following tables list the facilities given to mothers.

**Table 3.1 : Mothers Receiving Antenatal and Post-Natal Care**

<b>Antinatal &amp; Post Natal Care</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Urban</b>	<b>Rural</b>
Mothers who had at least 3 Antenatal visits for Last Birth (%)	79.3	89.3	73.4
Mothers who consumed IFA tablet for 90 days when pregnant (%)	40	48.9	34.7
Mothers who Received Post Natal Care within 2 days of Delivery for their last birth (%)	61.2	70.2	55.9

*Note: IFA- Iron and folic acid*

*Source: International Institute for Population Sciences, National Family Health Survey-3, 2005-06.*

One of the best strategies to prevent MMR is to encourage institutional deliveries. In the North districts of Karnataka (Gulbarga and Belgaum Division) institutional deliveries are low compared to institutional



delivery rates in South Karnataka<sup>10</sup> which is more than 90%. The village Health and Sanitation Committees in the panchayats, Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHA'S) Junior Health Assistants Female (ANMs) and the Anganwadi workers play a significant role in creating awareness, provide information and counseling on the advantages of antenatal checkups and institutional deliveries. But ASHA'S and ANMs workers are not appointed on regular basis and some remote areas these vacancies are not filled. In Karnataka, abortion accounts for 1% of maternal deaths<sup>11</sup>. Despite the special sanction of the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act in 1971, illegal abortions continue to be performed by unauthorized persons like local quacks and untrained persons under unhygienic and unsafe conditions. Efforts are being made to provide for the unmet need of safe abortion services and to improve utilization of existing facilities so as to make abortions services accessible to all women in the rural areas. In Karnataka there are a total of 517 centers recognized for performing Medical Termination of Pregnancy. Efforts are made to give adequate training and facilities to medical personnel so as to reduce MMR and morbidity but they are yet become popular among the people.

The incidence of early marriages in Karnataka is recorded<sup>12</sup> as 41.2% in 2006. Census of India 2001 found that there were nearly 3,00,000 married girls who became mothers before the age of 15 years. The Child Marriage

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<sup>10</sup> Government of Karnataka, 2011-2012, Annual Report, Department of Health and Family Welfare Sciences.

<sup>11</sup> Government of Karnataka, 2011-2012, Men and Women in Karnataka, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Bangalore.

<sup>12</sup> Government of Karnataka, 2011-2012, Men and Women in Karnataka, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Bangalore.

Restraint Act of 1976 which has risen the age of marriage for girls from 15 to 18 has been implemented but most of the time the incidence of child marriage go unreported. Acquiring higher/continuing education and greater employment by women has also played a role in rising their age of marriage in urban areas. But in rural Karnataka almost 60% of the girls are married before they are 18 years. The tradition in rural Karnataka is to calculate the age of marriage from the time the girl attains puberty and not the birth age thus the girls are being married before they are 18 years of age. Also during an interaction<sup>13</sup> with the members of the Self Help Groups the women expressed that pre marital relations brings dishonour to the family and so girls are married off as early as possible.

As per Human Development Report<sup>14</sup> of 2005 the Life Expectancy at Birth during 1991-92 in Karnataka was 62.1, whereas it was 65.8 in 2001-02. The Total Fertility Rate (TFR) declined from 2.3 in 2003 to 2.0 in 2009. The decline in Total Fertility Rate is due to increased knowledge and acceptance of contraceptives and reduced child mortality<sup>15</sup>. Economic reasons for the decline in fertility rates includes urbanization, increase in the cost of living, increased education of women has created employment opportunity. All these have raised the incentives of parents to invest in their children's education and to substitute quality for quantity in family size decisions. The general fertility rate is 64.1 and the total fertility rate is 3.0 among illiterate

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<sup>13</sup> 23th March 2010, Interaction with women Self Help Groups in Chamarajnagar.

<sup>14</sup> Karnataka Human Development Report, 2005, Planning and Statistical Department.

<sup>15</sup> Government of Karnataka, 2011-2012, Men and Women in Karnataka, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Bangalore.

women and accordingly it is 78.5 and 2.0 among literate women. Refer Table 3.2 for further details.

**Table 3.2 : Age Specific Fertility Rates by Level of Education of Women**

Age Group Year)	Illiterate	Education Level of Women - Year - 2008							
		Literate							
		Total	Without Formal Education	Below Primary	Primary	Middle	Class XI	Class XII	Graduate & Above
15-19	163.8	40.3	184.8	149	116.7	28	21.1	21.1	0
20-24	260.2	184.4	186.0	289.4	246.9	209	149.3	90.4	109.1
25-29	127.0	117.3	50.6	119.9	122.2	106.2	115.9	127.1	126
30-34	38.4	44.4	11.8	44.8	33	35.7	41.5	61.6	74.4
35-39	9.7	14.8	1.4	19.2	14.8	12	10.3	6.6	29.2
40-44	2.7	1.9	0.0	0.8	2.1	2.0	1.5	8.0	0.5
45-49	0.1	0.5	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
General Fertility Rate	64.1	78.5	46.3	101.6	102.2	74.1	62.7	64.4	77.5
Total Fertility Rate	3.0	2	2.2	3.1	2.7	2	1.7	1.6	1.7

Source: Sample Registration System Statistical Report 2008

The health infrastructure in Karnataka needs to be strengthened. The Dr. Nanjundappa Committee that is High Power committee for redressal of Regional Imbalances (HPC-FRRI) 2001 report has highlighted that regional disparity in health infrastructure and services facilities especially between South of Karnataka and North of Karnataka. The rural health infrastructure in

Karnataka is inadequate as there is severe shortage of trained man power, equipment, medicines, electricity and transport. To reduce the high maternal mortality rate rural health infrastructure needs strengthening. In Urban areas Karnataka has many facilities however there are pockets in urban areas where health infrastructure also needs strengthening and improvements in health services. For the rural area, Karnataka is following the national pattern of Health Infrastructure in rendering Primary Health Care by establishing health institutions namely Sub Centres, Primary Health Centres (PHC) and Community Health Centres (CHC)

The situation of urban and rural infrastructure in Karnataka is given below

**Table 3.3 : Urban Health Infrastructure 2009-10**

Urban Health Infrastructure 2009-10	
Urban Primary Health Centres	27
Beds	162

*Source:- Health and Family Welfare Services, Government of Karnataka*

**Table 3.4 : Rural Health Infrastructure 2009-10**

Sub centers	8143
Primary Health Centers (PHCs)	2193
Community Health Centers (CHCs)	325

*Source: - Health and Family Welfare Services, Government of Karnataka*

## AIDS

Karnataka has been conducting the HIV Sentinel Surveillance since 1998. Surveillance is carried out annually by testing for HIV at designated sentinel sites. The prevalence of HIV among antenatal cases which was 1.5% in 2004 declined to 0.89% in 2008. This has been further brought down to 0.23% in 2012. In so far as HIV prevalence in STD Clinic attendees, female sex workers, men who have sex with men and injection Drug users, at present, is 10.97%, 14.19%, 12.62% and 2% respectively<sup>16</sup>. The incidence of AIDS is spreading from the high risk population to the general population, and the infection has spread even to new born babies. The percentage of women having awareness in Karnataka during 2008-09 was 91.8%. Karnataka State AIDS Prevention society implements various programmes of the central and state government s for the prevention of AIDS.

<sup>16</sup> Government of Karnataka, 2011-2012, Annual Report, Department of Health and Family Welfare Sciences.

Karnataka has 0.63 percent the estimated people living with HIV/AIDS is 2.5 lakhs. AIDS control strategy has worked in Karnataka and the number of victims is declining. The country's only specialized hospital for the HIV/AIDS victims is in Mysore” Asha Kirana,” which has helped thousands of victims. Government facilities are inadequate and often not available when needed most.

**Table 3.5 : Statistics Regarding HIV/AIDS**

Indicator	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12
Tested (General Clients)	745292	775712	1179801
Positive (General Clients)	48417	41617	39477
Positivity Rate	6.5	5.37	3.35
Tested (Pregnant Women)	796748	784794	1010822
Positive (Pregnant Women)	3501	2542	2333
Positivity Rate	0.44%	0.32%	0.23%
AIDS Cases	16285	12488	19206
Deaths	4419	4916	5454

Source: Government of Karnataka, 2011-12, Annual Report,  
Department of Health and Family welfare services.

The nutritional status of women and children in Karnataka is not quite satisfactory and requires intervention to bring improvement in the current situation. Although programmes have targeted vulnerable sections of the

population, more concerted effort is required to bring about tangible change in the situation. Programmes like Public Distribution System and Targeted Public Distribution Systems (TPDS), poverty alleviation programme and rural and urban employment programmes have been implemented, but the nutritional status of 31% of women and 26% of men is below normal. The benefits of programmes does not seem to reach about 30% of the population, hence a different approach is required<sup>17</sup>.

Apart from the medical needs there are other determinants of health that impact the health of women such as safe drinking water and adequate sanitation, housing, safe working environment, health literacy and education. A vast section of the Karnataka Population does not have access to safe drinking water, which is the cause of many diseases such as cholera, typhoid, dysentery, jaundice etc., One of the most important roles that women and children perform is to collect water. In some cases both in rural and urban areas women spend hours to collect water. This is also one of the most important reasons for girls to drop out of schools so that they can help the family in managing the household chores while both parents are working. The status of rural Habitations access to safe drinking water and those yet to be covered is given below:

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<sup>17</sup> Government of Karnataka, 2011-2012, Men and Women in Karnataka, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Bangalore.

**Table 3.6 Rural Habitations having safe Drinking Water**

Partially Covered	Fully Covered	Total
3494	53188	56682

*Source: Census of India 2001*

Various policies and programmes have been formulated by the government of India and Karnataka to address the health needs of women. These programmes are implemented by the Department of Health and Family Welfare Services through various Health and Medical Institutions. Some of the Major Policies and programmes are as follows:-

The National Nutritional Policy 1993 aims at alleviating all the multi faceted problems of under/malnutrition and its related deficiencies and diseases so as to achieve an optimal state of nutrition for all sections of society but with a special priority for women, mothers and children<sup>18</sup>. Two major problems that are identified are chronic energy deficiency and vitamin A, Iron and Iodine Deficiencies. The programme identifies women with such deficiencies and provides ante-natal, intra-partum and neo-natal care under the Reproductive and Child Health Programme and ensures they receive food supplements through Integrated Child Development Services. Besides this since 2001-01 the GOI has been providing assistance to the state through the Pradhan Mantri Gramodaya Yojana in an effort to prevent under-nutrition in the age –group 6-24 months. Supplementary nutrition is also

<sup>18</sup> Government of India, 1993, National Nutrition policy, 1993, Department of women and Child Development, Ministry of Human Resource Development, New Delhi



provided to 105 million school-going children under the National Programme of Nutritional Support to primary Education (popularly known as Mid-Day Meals Programme).

The Reproductive and Child Health (RCH) programme was announced in 1997. The programme was run by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India, with support of loans from the World Bank and Grants from international agencies including Department for International Development and the United Nations Population Fund. In this programme the focus shifted from the individualized vertical interventions to a more holistic integrated life-cycle approach with more attention to reproductive health care. This includes access to essential obstetric care during the entire period of pregnancy, provision of emergency obstetric care as close to the community as possible, improving and expanding early and safe abortion services and provision for treatment of Reproductive Tract Infections /sexually transmitted Infections (RTI/STI) cases at the sub-district level. The RCH programme was referred to as a paradigm shift as it viewed women's health in a holistic manner for the first time.

The National Population Policy (NPP) 2000 address the issue related to population stabilization and to ensure universal access to quality contraceptive services as a step towards attaining the two-child norm. It aims to reduce IMR and MMR, immunization of children, promoting delayed marriages for girls and enhancing the number of institutional deliveries. Apart from these services it also aims to provide primary and secondary education, extend basic amenities including sanitation, safe drinking water, housing,

besides empowering women and enhancing their employment opportunities and providing transport and communication. Among other policy prescription the NPP claims to advocate a target free approach to family planning services and voluntary and informed consent as the basis for the availing such services. The NPP advocated the “decentralization of planning and implementation which will promote need-based, demand-driven, area/location specific, integrated and high quality reproductive and child health care services,” “convergence in implementation with all other relevant social sectors,” and “commitments from and collaboration with the NGO sector and the private/corporate sector... to augment the pool of diverse health care providers”.<sup>19</sup>

The Karnataka State integrated Health Policy 2004 articulates the state’s long term vision for the health sector. Its mission was to provide quality health care with equity, which is responsive to the needs of the people, and it is guided by the principle of transparency, accountability and community participation<sup>20</sup>. The goals of Karnataka Health policy are :

- To provide integrated and comprehensive primary health care.
- To establish a credible and sustainable referral system.
- To establish equity in delivery of quality health care.
- To encourage greater public private partnership in provision of quality health care in order to better serve the underserved areas.

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<sup>19</sup> Government of India, Tenth Five Year Plan, 2002 to 2007, Planning Commission, <http://planningcommission.gov.in>

<sup>20</sup> Government of Karnataka, 2004, Karnataka State Integrated Health Policy, Department of Health and Family Welfare.

- To address emerging issues in public health.
- To strengthen health infrastructure.
- To develop health human resources.
- To improve access to safe and quality drugs at affordable prices.
- To increase access to a system of alternative medicine.

The National Rural Health Mission<sup>21</sup> (NRHM) was launched in 2005. Almost all programmes including RCH and other smaller national Health policies now come under NRHM. The most important aspect of NRHM is it was able to reclaim control over the health sector from the international agencies such as UN population Fund and DFID which were funding RCH Programmes. The Activities under the NRHM are based on the area/location specific need, such as special focus on backward districts and high focused districts based on prevalence of the health problem in a given area. The NRHM aims at improving infrastructure, manpower strengthening, timely distribution of drugs and equipments needed for health care. Incentive schemes which are state specific are being implemented to motivate women and children from weaker sections to get improved health care facilities. One of the “key components” of the Mission included the creation of a huge cadre of so-called Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHAs) to help with primary-health outreach services, especially in the area of maternal care and childbirth.

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<sup>21</sup> Government of India, 2005, National Health Mission, Ministry Of Health and Family Welfare

The NRHM employed five main approaches while addressing these issues – communitization, flexible financing, improved management through capacity building, monitoring progress against standards, and innovations in human resource management, which became the mainstay. What helped immensely in communitizing the health care was the ongoing process of decentralization with concomitant convergence. Development of village health plan through Village Health and Sanitation Committee (VHSC) and its integration into the district plan, which in turn has been made the main instrument for planning, inter-sector convergence, implementation and monitoring, was instituted as the fulcrum of decentralization (till date more than 451,000 VHSCs are functional). Convergence of all programs is being ensured at village and facility level. Effective integration of health concerns with other health determinants like sanitation and hygiene, nutrition and safe drinking water through district health plan is being made. Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs), Self-Help Groups, and health, nutrition and sanitation committees have been activated to seek local accountability in the delivery of programs.

In Karnataka under NRHM Equity will be a key policy thrust encompassing four main parameters namely region, gender, vulnerable groups such as SC and ST and disadvantaged like street children, elderly etc. Some of the most important programmes implemented in Karnataka under the NRHM are

- Janani Suraksh Yojane (JSY): This is a programme for intensifying institutional deliveries with goals of reduction in maternal and infant

mortality rate as well as to increase the institutional deliveries of BPL and SC/ST families by compensating for loss of wage. This scheme provides for cash assistance to the mother for institutional deliveries, at the rate Rs. 700/- per case in rural areas and Rs. 600/- in urban areas. Cash assistance of Rs.500 is provided for women delivering at home. Assistance of Rs.1500 is provided in case of caesarean operation in empanelled hospitals. The benefit is limited to first two live deliveries.

- **Thayi Bhagya** :To reduce Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR),empanelled private hospitals in the Backward Districts of Bidar, Gulbarga, Yadgir, Raichur, Koppal, Bijapur, Bagalkot and Chamarajanagar, are given an incentive of Rs. 3 Lakhs for every 100 deliveries conducted including surgeries. The treatment is free to the patients.
- **Arogya Kavacha (108)**: This programme provides free pre hospital stabilization and referral transport in case of medical, Police, and Fire emergencies. 517 ambulances have been deployed across the State under the programme. 2.85 Crore calls have been received till March 2012. 42% of calls are pregnancy related.
- **Madilu**:This program provides post-natal care for the mother and the child, the objective being to encourage poor pregnant women to avail delivery services in health centres and hospitals in order to reduce maternal and infant mortality in the State. Under the programme, a kit containing 19 items of day to day use is provided to women belonging to

Below Poverty Line, including SC/ST, delivering in Government hospitals.

The benefit is limited to first two live deliveries.

- Prasooti Aarika: The scheme is being implemented for the benefit of pregnant women belonging to Below Poverty Line including SC and ST families. The women of Below Poverty Line get Rs. 2000 (for first two deliveries)- Rs.1000 during her antenatal & Rs.1000/- in postnatal care to get nutritional supplements.

Besides these health related policies the government has also has made efforts to address other factors such as sanitation and housing which are essential for the overall health of the women. The rural sanitation programme launched in 1999 ensures construction of village sanitary complexes exclusively for women, where the constructions of individual household latrines are not feasible. The Indira Awas Yojana stipulates that houses under the scheme are to be allotted in the name of the female member of the beneficiary household or in the joint names of husband and wife. Rural development and Panchayat Raj Department in Karnataka Programmed to provide 40 to 55 liters of drinking water to each person a day. Potable drinking water is supplied to rural areas through Bore wells fitted to hand pump scheme, Mini water supply scheme and piped water scheme.

Despite all these efforts made in the health sector in Karnataka large gaps remain. Infant Mortality Rate though may have declined but the rural urban gap continues. Inter district and regional disparity continues especially among the most vulnerable groups like the SC and ST. Mal-nutrition in

children who are below 5 years and anemia in women continue. Women's health, mental health and disability are still neglected. The health policy must also focus on structural reforms which are the root of such disparity in health. NRHM has taken several measures to address health issue but it is too early to analyze the success of this programme though there seems some improvement in the health sector in Karnataka. Most of these programmes and policies associated with health of the women have no doubt grown less narrow in focus and are more inclusive and sensitive to the needs of the women when compared to the earlier programmes. The earlier Programmes viewed women as reproductive beings alone but in the recent years the policies and programmes like the RCH and NRHM have a more Holistic vision of women's health in general. But it is also true that reproductive health is still the central focus of all the programmes and only noticeable difference is that the programmes are now offering a choice of contraceptive methods instead of pushing any one specific one.

### **Education**

In India from the beginning of the movement for equality of women great emphasis was placed on education as the major instrument for elimination of gender inequality. After independence education came to be viewed as the only tool which could neutralize the accumulated distortion of the past and bring about a change in favour of women. The government through its 5year plans has implemented various programmes and policies specifically targeting women, but these initiatives have not reached them.

Female literacy rate as per the 2011 census stands at 65.46% and male literacy is 82.14%. Gender gap also persists at all levels of education system which in turn effects employment, skill acquisition and participatory opportunities in all fields.

In Karnataka the development in education can be traced through the following data. As per the 2011 census the total literacy rate is 75.60% of which male literacy is 82.85% and female literacy is 68.13%. The net enrollment ratio in the state for girls at primary and upper primary level during 2009-10 is 94.79% and 95.01% respectively. There are 48.51 lakh girls enrolled in school from class I to X in 2011-12. The literacy rank of the state was ninth among 16 major states (considering states with population of more than 100lakhs) during 2001. It has remained in the same position even in 2011.

**Table 3.7 : Literacy Rate by Sex in Karnataka**

Particulars	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Male	42.29	48.51	58.73	67.26	76.06	82.85
Female	16.7	24.56	33.17	44.34	56.87	68.13
M & F Divergence	25.59	23.95	25.56	22.92	19.19	14.72
Total	29.8	36.83	46.21	56.04	66.64	75.6

Source:- Registrar General of India, Census of India for relevant years



It is evident that the state has achieved significant progress in increasing literacy rates during 1961 to 2011. The total female literacy in Karnataka during 1961 was 16.70% which increased to 68.13%. This is no doubt an improvement but it is essential to note that male literacy rate is higher than the female literacy rate.

The divergence in the literacy rates between sexes indicates the difference in the growth rate of literacy levels between males and females over a period of time. In our analysis the divergence in the literacy rate between the sexes showed a declining trend especially during the last three decades from 22.92% in 1991 to 14.72% in 2011 indicating the reduction in the gap between literacy rates of male and female. This can be attributed to the faster growth of female literacy rate compared to that of males during the same period.

This sharp rise literacy among women over the decades can be attributed to the changing needs of the society. Economically there has been increase demand for efficient and skilled manpower to participate in the development process which has created employment opportunities for women in certain sectors. Socially primary education has slowly been accepted as a norm by all most every caste and class in the society.

**Table 3.8: Rural –Urban Literacy Rate in Karnataka**

	1981		1991		2001		2011	
Particular	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Urban	76.54	56.41	82.04	65.74	86.85	74.87	90.54	81.71
Rural	51.11	23.64	60.30	34.78	70.5	48.00	77.92	59.60

Source:- Registrar General of India, Census of India for relevant years

It may be noted from the above table that urban female literacy is much more than that of rural female literacy. This is because of number of factors like- lack of access to schools, poor quality of education in government schools and high fees charged by the private ones, lack of toilets and drinking water and parents feeling insecure about sending girl children. Also with increasing feminization of agriculture, the pressure of looking after younger siblings, collecting cooking fuel, water and maintaining the household, all fall upon the girl child, putting a stop to her education and development.

To address low female literacy it is also essential to take into account the district wise Statistics. The district with lowest female literacy rate as per 2011 census report are districts also constitute the most backward districts of the state.

**Table 3.9 : District with lowest Female literacy Rate as per the census report of 2011**

District	Literacy Rate
Yadgir	41.31
Raichur	49.56
Chamarajnagar	54.32
Gulbarga	55.87
Koppal	56.22
Bijapur	56.54
Bellary	58.28
Bagalkote	58.55

*Source:- Registrar General of India, Census of India 2011*

The Scheduled Castes (SC) in Karnataka have a long history of receiving support from the state commencing with the benevolent policies of the princely state of Mysore. After independence and formation of the state of Karnataka in 1956 the State government has pursued policies that have encouraged SCs to enter the education mainstream. Despite these pro active interventions the performance of SCs is nowhere on par with the general population.

**Table 3.10 : Literacy rate among SC population in Karnataka**

Year	Male	Female	Total
1981	39.38	15.48	27.62
1991	49.69	25.95	38.10
2001	63.75	41.72	52.87
2010	65.30	46.70	56.10

Source:- Registrar General of India, Census of India for relevant years

The literacy rate of SC women continues to be a matter of concern. In the female literacy was 46.7% which is lower than the SC male 65.3% and the general female literacy rate is 68.13%. The district with lowest SC female literacy rate are Koppal (25.6%), Raichur (26%), Gulbarga(27%) and Bagalkote (28.7%) followed by Bellary (29%), Bijapur (31.9%), Haveri(36.9%), Davengere (38.2%), Chitradurga(40.92%) and Belgaum(41.6%) which are below the state average.<sup>2222</sup>

The female literacy rate among Schedule Tribe (ST) is also not satisfying. The ST female literacy is 40.6% . The literacy rate for ST women is the lowest in the state in comparison with all women as well as SC women. District that have low ST female literacy rates<sup>23</sup> are Raichur (29.01%) followed by Gulbarga (32.40%) and Kodagu (40.37%) This data reveals that caste, gender and region interface to impact life of women especially if they are poor SC& ST women who reside in the backward district of the state such as Koppal, Raichur, Gulbarga, Chamarajanagar and Yadgir.

<sup>22</sup> Karnataka Human Development Report, 2005, Planning and Statistical Department

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

### Primary education and High School education

Another important indicator to measure the success of education of women is primary education which is the core education. Primary education is compulsory due to the Universalization of Elementary Education. It consists of eight years of education for every child in the age group of 6-14 years. Due to the state policy significant progress has been achieved in improving access to primary schools within one kilometer in habitation. There are 59595 elementary schools in the state at present and 26.03 lakh girls enrolled in the classes from I to V and 1002 lakh girls enrolled in classes VI to VII. The enrolment ratio between boys and girls at primary and upper primary stages are well within 52:48 ratio. Both gender parity and gender equity are nearing unity in the state. Efforts are made to keep track of the students who drop out of schools the data available is as follows.

**Table 3.11 : Cumulative Dropout rates in Lower Primary (LP) and Upper Primary (UP)**

Years	Primary	Upper Primary
2001-02	11.18	32.93
2008-09	6.66	11.78
2009-10	4.60	8.10
2010-11	2.09	5.47

*Source: Commissioner of Public Instructions, Bangalore*

**Table 3.12 : Dropout rate is Lower Primary &  
Higher Primary stages (2010-2011)**

Stages	All Children	All Boys	All Girls	SC ALL	SC Boys	SC Girls	ST ALL	ST Boys	ST Girls
LP	2.09	2.03	2.15	4.05	3.22	4.94	1.95	1.95	1.95
HP	5.47	5.34	5.6	8.79	8.52	9.08	7.06	6.21	8.01

*Source: Commissioner of Public Instructions, Bangalore*

The Bulk of Out Of School (OOS) girls<sup>24</sup> are in district of Raichur, Bijapur, Bidar, Yadgir, Gulbarga, Koppal and Bagalkot. The Dropout rates have steadily declined over the years. But it is highest at the higher primary stage for SC girls. The Highest percentage of OOS children is among SC&ST. These two social classes also have the highest percentage of OOS girls. The state has introduced several programmes so as to bring out of school children back into the school. Some prominent programmes are Ba Marali Shalige, Chinnara Angala, Ba Bale Shalige, Sada Shalige, Cooliyida Shalige etc. The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyam (SSA/DOE) has identified 111218 children as out of school children as per updates made during 2011 from the Child Census Data of 2010. The Child census exercise has collected information regarding the reasons for drop out of children from school. Engagement in household work is a major reason for drop out phenomenon. In a great majority of labour household where both parents go out for work

<sup>24</sup> Education in Karnataka, 2010-2011, An Analytical Report, Sarva Shikshana Abhiyana, Karnataka.

and livelihood, children especially girls are expected to manage the household service, drinking water needs, clean the used utensils, wash clothes and in several cases take care of sibling, Migration for work is quite high in several district specifically in Bijapur district.

Quality Education is another problem which has to be addressed. It is well known fact that most of the Urban and Rural poor send their children to government schools. The well to do parents sends their children to Private Aided and Unaided Schools. Private Schools are known to have good facilities and are considered better in quality than the government schools. As a result children at the bottom of the pyramid, who enroll in poor quality primary schools have a slim chance of competing with their peers from the higher echelons of society. They dropout earlier and even if they continue they barely learn anything in government schools. As a result they are pushed into lower paying jobs or into the informal sector. Education does not really add much value to their overall development or life skills<sup>25</sup>. Moreover investing in girl's education is not high priority partly because it does not benefit the birth family directly and also women are treated as marginal beings that can be pulled out of school to manage the home and assist in sibling care. This clearly indicates that the programme of the education department are not reaching the most vulnerable sections especially the SC &ST and also are unable to penetrate into the most backward district of the state.

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<sup>25</sup> Nimbissan.B. Geetha, 2004, April, "Integrating Gender Concerns", in Are we learning? A symposium on ensuring quality elementary education, Seminar

## High School

Secondary education is a crucial stage in the educational hierarchy as it prepares the students for higher education and also for the world of work. Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Ahhiyam plays an important role for the progress of secondary education. Since primary education is on the verge of being universalized now the state is aiming for universalization of secondary education to achieve the targets of 65%. Enrolment in 14-18 years age group population in class 9 to class 12 by 2012 as envisaged under the 11th Five Year Plan of the government of India. Karnataka state has a total of 13447 secondary schools<sup>26</sup>. 39.10% of these schools are run by the private unaided sector which indicates low access to higher education to students from marginalized groups. 44.47% of girls are enrolled in government schools and only 22.74% of them study in private unaided schools where as 26.24% of the boys study in these schools. The Male–Female share in enrolment is 52% and 48% indicating low gender gap. The reason for this difference in enrolment is due to the fact that parents are less willing to incur the costs of private schooling for daughters. The dropout rate is also very high among girls in higher classes as they are pulled out of school to get them married or to stay at home.

## Pre University

Pre University education is an important milestone between school education and higher education. A separate pre-university education

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<sup>26</sup> Economic Survey of Karnataka 2012-2013, Planning Programme Monitoring and Statistics Department.



department has been established in the state to design plan and implement the whole Pre-University education programme. There are 1201 government colleges, 803 Aided colleges, and 1811 unaided Pre university colleges in the state<sup>27</sup>. The courses offered at these levels are classified into science, commerce and arts. While science and commerce courses rule supreme in city, arts courses have a strong hold in rural areas. Rural girls are hesitant in pursuing science courses because of lack of awareness on the emerging employment opportunities and also because of the fee structure. The science courses are expensive when compared to the arts courses. Another factor which affects students from choosing science courses is in most rural colleges the science courses do meet the minimum requirement for laboratory and other required infrastructure facilities. The present trend is that few girls have began to opt for commerce courses as there is a sudden demand in the market for students from the commerce stream. But Kannada medium students still prefer the Arts courses as the medium of instruction in commerce courses is English. On the other hand arts courses for rural women are easy means of securing a degree. English medium courses have minimum following in rural areas. In the city the scenario is different. Traditional Arts courses in the city have no takers among girls also. It is only in a few government pre university colleges that we find girls in arts courses.

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<sup>27</sup> Economic Survey of Karnataka 2012-2013, Planning Programme Monitoring and Statistics Department.

**Table 3.13 : Enrolment across course in Pre University (2008-09)**

Stage	Arts	Commerce	Science	Total
I Year Nos	258291	137613	130788	526292
II Year Nos	202551	103509	112348	418408
Proportion				
I Year	49	26.15	24.85	100
II Year	48.41	24.74	26.85	100

Source: Economic Survey of Karnataka 2012-2013

The low enrolment in science courses are a cause of concern. The education commission of 1966 had suggested an enrolment limit of 30 % to 35% for arts courses. However even in 2008-09 nearly 50% enrolment are made in arts courses.

### **Collegiate Education**

Higher education plays a crucial role in ensuring quality Human resources for the development of the country. The Department of collegiate education is in charge of 1362 institutions under the jurisdiction of 11 universities. The courses offered at this level B.A, B.Sc, B.Com, BBM, BCA, & BSW.

**Table 3.14 Enrolment across courses 2010-11**

Courses	B.A	B.Sc	B.Com	Others	Total
Number of students	142617	49199	98876	39979	330671
Percentage	43.13	14.88	29.9	12.09	100

*Source: Economic Survey of Karnataka, 2012-13*

During 2009-10 the student strength in Government and Private aided degree colleges was 153160 and 206717 and of which 74707 and 104274 are female. The enrolment of students to B.A courses is much higher than the other courses. At present B.A courses are not oriented towards the real needs of the economy. Mostly poor rural kannada medium girl students opt this course. The enrolment of boys in B.Com and B.Sc courses are also on the decline as the trend these days is to take up professional courses like engineering or job oriented courses. The students who complete these traditional courses are often under employed as they are lacking in skills required in the present job market. Urban English speaking girls are in a better placed in the job market when compared to rural girl students who cannot speak English.

The Karnataka Jnana Ayoga (KJA) sponsored research study on Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in Karnataka as part of its recommendation on higher education states that Karnataka GER is 12.2% in higher education.

The GER for males being higher than for Females. Low proportion of Basic Science enrolment and the attraction of professional courses lead to low enrolment in graduate courses. This has led to severe shortage of science teachers for secondary schools as well as for creation of pool of scientist in the country. The effect is also seen in the enrolment for Post- graduate and research courses. Both school science education and scientific pursuits suffer because of this trend. The general perception in society is that science is for boys and girls are often discouraged to pursue a career in science. This has led to androcentrism in Science research. The androcentric view holds men and masculine characteristics as the norm and as the standard against which people are compared.

### **Technical education**

Technical Education is a necessity for the growth of industries in the state. There has been a demand from the industries for technical skilled man power. The Department of Technical Education (DTE) satisfies this need through its technical and polytechnic institutions. In 2010-11 there were a total of 485 technical education institutions in the state which includes 187 graduate /PG level engineering institutions and 289 polytechnic institutions under DTE. There is sex and social inequity in enrolment in engineering/ polytechnics education. In 1965, 807 women, that is 9.5% of the total enrolment in engineering education at under graduate level. In 2011-12 there were 23907 girls that is 37% of the total enrolment in engineering education at the under graduate level. This no doubt indicates the

importance given by women to technical education. But in the same period that is 1965 the enrolment of boys was 7679 almost 90% of the total enrolment and in 2011-12 the enrolment of boy was 40707 that 63% of the total enrolment in engineering education at the under graduate level. Technical education continues to be a male dominated. There is a sharp rural urban divide. The rural girls due to lack of better training facilities are unable to compete with their urban students and another factor is the cost of such courses which the girls families are reluctant to bare.

### **Medical Education**

It is the responsibility of the government to ensure quality health care facilities to its citizens. The field of medical education is diverse. There are 6 systems of medical care in India. They are Allopathy, Ayurveda, Homeopathy, Unani, Naturopathy, Ayurveda, Homeopathy, Unani, Naturopathy/yoga, and Siddha. The Directorate of Medical education conducts various courses for providing quality education at graduate, post-graduate and super speciality levels, para medical courses and nursing. Medical education is the most expensive of all courses and of the longest duration. Medical Science like the general science courses has always been a male domain. Women have enters this field but their number is still a cause of concern.

The Women and Child Development Department is providing financial assistance for girls who are pursuing Law and Job oriented courses. Around 200 law students and 2141 students of Job oriented course are benefited

from this scheme in 2007-2008. Hostel facilities are provided to rural students who are pursuing higher education. However these facilities are inadequate and reach only a few students

Women choice of education is made in accordance with the gender roles assigned to them. The patriarchal ethos plays an important role in restricting women's entry into various levels of education. Primary and secondary education has made significant gain in term of girl's enrolment, but will this education provide the knowledge to question the gender equalities and the structures which not only shape the distribution of resources but also reproduce it over time.

Several programmes, policies and legislative reforms have been formulated to empower women through education.

The 86th Amendment which came into force in 2010 'The Right to education Act' made education free and compulsory and right to every child in the age group of 6 to 14 years.

The National Policy on Education 1986 was revised in 1992. It aimed to achieve the goal of Universal Elementary Education (UEE) by the end of 2000. Concerted efforts towards UEE had resulted in the manifold increase in institutions, teachers and students. Various incentives schemes like provision of mid day meals, free uniforms, text books, scholarship etc are being implemented by central and state government to increase enrolment, retention and reduce drop outs. This led to the launch of National Literacy mission 1988 with the goal attaining full literacy i.e. a sustainable threshold

level of 75% by 2005. It adopted a multi pronged strategy to eradicate illiteracy in the country.

The Mahila Samkya Scheme was launched in 1989 to translate the goals of the National policy on education into a concrete programme for education and empowerment of women in rural areas particularly women in socially and economically marginalized groups. The programme has enabled women's collective to address the large socio-cultural issues that have traditionally inhibited the participation of women and girls in the education system. Through its strategy of building grass root women's organization the programme has created a forum and environment for women education at the community level.

In 2000-2001 the government of India launched the Sarva Siksha Abhiyam (SSA) a key programme through which goals of elementary education sectors are going to be met. SSA is a time bound initiative of the Central government in partnership with the states, the local government and community for achieving the goal of UEE. The programme seeks functional decentralization right down to the school level in order to improve community participation. This programme has played a crucial role in reducing the dropout rates and increasing the enrolment rate among girls in primary schools in many states.

## Violence

Violence against women , ranging from battering to sexual atrocities like molestation and rape, dowry tortures and murders, trafficking and female infanticides-continues to be perpetrated by families, communities and the state. Violence Against Women (VAW) in India has deep roots in the culture. The patriarchal culture sanctions men to control its women; this imbalance in power between men and women has given rise to VAW. The changes taking place in the lifestyles due to the influence of globalization is another cause of VAW. The Declaration on the elimination of Violence against women adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1993, defines violence against women as “any act of gender based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life”.

VAW can be divided into several categories such violence committed by individual, violence perpetrated by State, Community, Family and so on. The World Health Organization in its research on VAW has categorized violence and the table below indicates the violence against women throughout the life cycle<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> Violence against Women: Definition and Scope of the Problem, World Health Organisation, [www.who.int/gender/violence/v4.pdf](http://www.who.int/gender/violence/v4.pdf)



**Table 3.15 Violence against women throughout the life cycle**

Phase	Type of violence
Pre Birth	Sex-selective abortion; effects of battering during pregnancy on birth out comes
Infancy	Female infanticide; physical, sexual and psychological abuse
Girlhood	Child marriage; female genital mutilation; physical, sexual and psychological abuse; incest; child prostitution and pornography
Adolescence and adulthood	Dating and courtship violence (e.g. acid throwing and date rape); economically coerced sex (e.g. school girls having sex with “sugar daddies” in return for school fees); incest; sexual abuse in the workplace; rape; sexual harassment; forced prostitution and pornography; trafficking in women; partner violence; marital rape; dowry abuse and murders; partner homicide; psychological abuse; abuse of women with disabilities; forced pregnancy
Elderly	Forced “suicide” or homicide of widows for economic reasons; sexual, physical and psychological abuse

Violence against women and girl child, both domestic and at work place has been showing an alarming trend in the state. As it is said violence against women begins from the womb and continues till she reaches her tomb. Due to the tradition of son preference female feticide is rampant and

later between the ages one and five the girl child is malnourished and ignored which leads to decline in the sex ratio in the age group of 0 to 6 years which is discussed earlier in this chapter. In the later years women face violence in various forms. According to State Crime Record Bureau, among the crimes committed against women, molestation shares the highest number. There were 486 victims of rape in 2009-10 when compared with 415 victims in 2008-09. As per the report received from State Crimes Record Bureau 2009-10, the crimes against women and total number of Suicides are 12195 out of which women were 3986. The state government as per the data of 2009-10 has a total of 897 police stations in Karnataka out of which 9 are women police station.

There has been a manifold increase in violence especially against women and girls within family both parental and marital home. The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 defines domestic violence in addition to dowry related cruelty. The Act also captured a woman's experience of violence in its diverse forms-physical, verbal, emotional, sexual and economic. It also brought under its ambit of law, categories of women facing violence in domestic relationships which were not marital in nature. This law is very significant as it identifies behavior that will not be tolerated in relationships within a marriage or in relationship which do not meet the requirement of marriage. The success of this law is dependent upon whether the society and policy makers are able to identify domestic violence as violation of human rights and not as a mere domestic dispute. The law sends out a powerful message on the standards of

behaviour that will not be tolerated. Another significant Act that is in existence for more than 50 years is the Dowry Prohibition Act 1961. Since this Act stipulates that those giving dowry as well as those accepting dowry are punishable under the existing law, not many come forward to complain. If at all a complaint is lodged it will be after a dowry death. Several of the cases even after complaints are lodged get closed as domestic accidents. It is estimated that the average dowry today is equivalent to five times the family's annual income and that the high cost of weddings and dowries is major cause of indebtedness among the poor<sup>29</sup>. However, these laws will remain only an instrument in bringing about social change; it will be the recognition of women as equal stakeholders that shall ultimately bring an end to violence.

**Table 3.16 : District wise Crimes Against Women in Karnataka**

**2009 - 2010**

Sl. No.	District	Molestation	Rape	Dowry Deaths
1	Bangalore City	251	62	50
2	Bangalore District	48	14	14
3	Kolar	17	8	11
4	Tumkur	85	19	13
5	Mysore	89	21	18
6	Mandya	85	16	8

<sup>29</sup> Karnataka Human Development Report, 2005, Planning and Statistical Department.

Table 3.16 (Contd.)

7	Hassan	75	22	15
8	Kodagu	24	14	5
9	Dakshina Kannada	61	10	1
10	Uttara Kannada	54	9	2
11	Chikamagalur	64	13	1
12	Belgaum	220	39	10
13	Dharwad	29	4	3
14	Bijapur	73	19	0
15	Gulbarga	68	32	8
16	Yadagiri			
17	Raichur	85	10	9
18	Bidar	38	10	3
19	Chitradurga	102	26	10
20	Shimoga	137	15	5
21	Bellary	66	11	7
22	Bagalkot	59	8	7
23	Chamarajnagar	55	8	6
24	Udupi	26	5	0
25	Koppal	32	14	5
26	Gadag	44	4	0
27	Haveri	50	5	3
28	Davanagere	90	16	12

Table 3.16 (Contd.)

29	Chikaballapur	43	11	11
30	Ramanagar	70	12	11
	Mysore City	22	14	6
	K.G.F	10	8	4
	Hubli-Dwd City	12	6	5
	K.Railways	2	1	1
	Total	2186	486	264

Source: Office of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, States Crime  
Records Bureau Government of Karnataka

It was during the Eleventh Five Year Plan VAW was considered as a public health issue. Therefore training was provided to medical personnel at medical and health establishments as these were the first point of contact for women in crisis situation. Training and sensitization of health personnel was provided to recognize and deal with injuries resulting from VAW and to provide psychological support. But in number of recent VAW the media has reported about the insensitivity of the personnel in handling such cases.

The Women and Child Department of Karnataka have many programmes and schemes to help women in crisis. Santhwana was launched in 2001-02 with the object of providing women who are victims of various atrocities such as dowry, rape, sexual harassment, domestic violence etc. and are subjected to physical and mental torture besides having to face social and financial problems. This scheme also provides legal assistance, financial relief, temporary shelter and training to be self reliant in

order to empower women in crisis to lead a life like other women in the society. The Santhwana centres are run through Non Government Organization and are implemented in all the districts. A total of 51 Santhwana centers are functioning in the state. Financial assistance is provided for remarriage of destitute widows and marriage of devadasi.

A special cell is created in the Directorate of Women and Child Department to handle issues related to eradication of various social evils such as dowry, child marriage, devadasi system, drug addiction and atrocities on women. The cell monitors the implementation of The Karnataka Devadasis (Prohibition of Dedication) Act, 1982 and Rules, 1987; The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 with amendments of 1984 and 1986 and Rules 2004; Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929; Karnataka Marriage Act 1976; Indecent Representation of Women Act 1986.

The Government of India schemes implemented by the special cell are Scheme for Prevention of Alcoholism and Substance (Drugs) Abuse and Swadhar. Publicity campaigns are held in the districts to create awareness among public on the amended Dowry Prohibition Act, Devadasi (Prohibition of Dedication) Act, Child Marriage Restraint Act and other social evils like child marriages, sexual harassment of women in work places. Workshops and Seminars are also conducted to create awareness about the benefits available under various schemes of the Department.

Swadhar is a scheme for women in difficult circumstances. The objectives of this scheme are to provide shelter, food, clothing, and care to the marginalized women/girls living in difficult circumstances, to rehabilitate

them socially and economically through education, awareness, skill up gradation and personality development through behavioural training etc. This scheme is operated through NGO's.

Most of the assistance given by the Women and Child Development department in the form of temporary relief and do much to eliminate these problems by addressing the root cause. Violence and such atrocities are on the increase because the liberal consumerist economy commodifies the women, making her an object of male desire. The media particularly television and Cinema has been perpetuating gender stereotypes with visuals becoming more and more sex and violence oriented. Through selective and biased messages, women's role is projected as passive and victimized wives/mothers/sisters. This has made women's many other contributions almost invisible.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **WOMEN EMPOWERMENT AND PANCHAYAT RAJ INSTITUTIONS IN KARNATAKA**

It is a basic principle of democracy that adult citizens from all walks of life should have equal access to participation and decision making and leadership. Ideally all groups in a democracy have the right to represent their specific interest and perspectives and participate directly in the decision making process and leadership to ensure that their agenda of issues are considered and the decisions taken subsequently are incorporated. But in practice we can see that specific interest groups are systematically and deliberately excluded from direct participation in decision making on the grounds that others can speak for them. This kind of representation in the decision making process is called as domination/control over and so on. Women are excluded from this kind of participation because traditionally, male and female roles have been quite distinct in Indian society. Men function in the public sphere, while the private or domestic sphere is the domain of women<sup>1</sup>. Within the private or domestic sphere women's entire identity is defined by familial roles: daughters, wife and mothers. This gives them little opportunity to make decisions or develop leadership skills outside the family context. It is against this social backdrop that women during the

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<sup>1</sup> Kumari Ranjana and Khutzezana Sara: 1992 Political Empowerment of Women in India in Kumari Ranjana (ed) Women in Decision Making, Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, P.125.



freedom movement, for the first time crossed the threshold and participated in public life.

They participated in processions, meetings and even court arrest and supply imprisonment. These women were mainly elite group women and it was possible for them to be part of the freedom struggle because the aim was to achieve political independence. To achieve political independence it was necessary for Indian society to project itself as a modern society. These women basically concentrated on education of women and legal equality and did not threaten women's performance of their familial role<sup>2</sup>. Once India got independence, the constitution guaranteed legal protection and created an illusion of equality which these elite women seemed satisfied with. This led to a gradual withdrawal of women from the political mainstream. Even to this day few women are represented in political organizations and decision making process. The trade unions, peasant federations and civil society associations are all male dominated. The following table highlights the position of women from Karnataka at various levels of decision making such as Lok Sabha, Vidhana Sabha, Panchayats, judiciary and executive levels that is bureaucracy.

The percentage representation of women in the three levels of Panchayat Raj Institutions Grama Panchayat, Taluk Panchayat and Zilla Panchayat are 43.02 % 41.7 % and 37.11 % respectively. The total number

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<sup>2</sup> Everett Matson Jana: 1979, Women and Social Change in India, Heritage, New Delhi, P94-98

of judges in Karnataka state during the year 2011-12 was 764 of which the number of women judges was 176 and the male judge were 588.

**Table 4.1: No., of Women Candidates Contested and Elected to Lok Sabha seats**

Year	Women contested	Women elected
1984	7	2
1989	12	1
1991	13	3
1999	11	2
2004	4	-
2009	19	1

Source: Chief Electoral Officer

**Table 4.2 “No., of women candidates contested and elected to Vidhana Sabha seats**

Year	Women Contested	Women Elected
1985	112	8
1989	77	9
1994	113	7
1999	62	5
2004	92	6
2008	106	3
16 Bye Election from 2008-2010	6	3
General Election 2013	75	6

Source: Chief Electoral Officer

The number of women IAS, IPS and IFS officers in Karnataka in 2013 is given below.

**Table 4.3: Women in Bureaucracy**

Service	Year	Female	Male	Total
Indian Administrative Service	2000	30	227	257
	2001	34	230	264
	2002	34	229	263
	2003	36	221	257
	2004	36	212	248
	2005	36	205	241
	2006	36	199	235
	2007	37	202	239
	2008	37	212	249
	2009	38	209	247
	2010	34	200	234
	2011	33	188	221
	2012	42	207	249
	2013	44	187	231

**Table 4.4: Women in Bureaucracy**

Service	Year	Female	Male	Total
Indian Police Service	2000	4	134	138
	2001	5	138	143
	2002	5	131	136
	2003	6	129	135
	2004	6	129	135
	2005	6	125	131
	2006	6	133	139
	2007	6	130	136

Table 4.4 (Contd.)

Service	Year	Female	Male	Total
	2008	6	131	137
	2009	5	125	130
	2010	5	137	142
	2011	6	137	143
	2012	7	136	143
	2013	6	135	141

**Table 4.5: Women in Bureaucracy**

Service	Year	Female	Male	Total
Indian Forest Service	2000	7	141	148
	2001	9	148	157
	2002	10	150	160
	2003	10	149	159
	2004	10	147	157
	2005	10	145	155
	2006	11	145	156
	2007	11	153	163
	2008	11	153	163
	2009	11	152	162
	2010	12	144	156
	2011	11	144	155
	2012	13	142	155
	2013	15	132	147

Source: DPAR, (Service IV), Vidhana Soudha, Bangalore

Thus women do not share power in decision making in proportion to their population. Decision making in Public spaces such as mentioned above was always a male domain and women's participation in these spaces has

been low. It is important to note that representation of women in power structures and decision making process and their empowerment is crucial as it not only gives control over resources: human, financial and physical, but also the rights to their own belief, values and attitudes. This means the right and freedom to participate and influence the political process which effect society and individual lives. In order to ensure women's equality in power sharing and active participation in decision making many measures were taken by the government. Since representation of women in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha is only elitist representation and do reflect the society as a whole for sake of understanding political empowerment of women the study focuses on participation of women in Panchayat Raj Institutions. A brief historical background is discussed in order to understand the context in which women came to participate in Panchayat Raj Institutions.

After independence economic development was the goal of government. To achieve economic prosperity the government favoured centralization of power rather than decentralization. Centralisation though was able to accelerate economic growth poverty remained a major challenge especially in rural areas despite of the rural development programmes like the Community development programme and IRDP. The local problems could not be addressed in the centralized system of governance.

As a result the government appointed the Balwant Ray Mehta Committee (1957) to look into the working of the Community Development Program. The committee observed that the failure of the Community

Development Program was due to the conspicuous absence of the people participation. It suggested that “a set of institutional arrangements to make the participation meaningful and effective. The committee recommended the creation of a three tier system of Panchayat raj institution with direct or indirect elections with special representation to women, SC and ST and persons with experience in administration and public life through co-option<sup>3</sup>. Thus a new experiment in decentralization for rural development began. In 1977 when the Janata Government came to power at the centre it worked towards decentralization of power and authority.

A national committee on Panchayat Raj Institution was appointed headed by Ashok Mehta. The Committee report was submitted in Aug 1978. It recommended that Panchayat Raj Institution would undertake democratic development, management under conditions of rapid change continuous growth and sustained innovations in all spheres of rural life<sup>4</sup>. The committee also recommended the method of “co-option by election” that is direct election of members with adequate representation of SC, ST and women. Many states apposed its recommendations.

Another significant recommendation with regard to women in PRI's was the National Perspective Plan for women, 1988- 2000. It emphasized that power and access to positions of decision making and authority are

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<sup>3</sup> Government of India: 1957, Report of the team for the Study of Community Development Project and National Extension Survey, Vol-1, New Delhi

<sup>4</sup> Mehta. A : ( 1978), Report of the Committee on Panchayat Raj Institutions, Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, New , Delhi, p.138.

critical prerequisites for women equality in the process of nation building. It suggested that participation of women in Panchayat Raj Institution would be a step forward to equality, enhanced representation is likely to remove isolation of women and that women would get more visibility and strength to be more assertive and to take part in decision making. The core group that prepared the National Perspective Plan recommended reservation of 30% seats for women in Panchayat Raj Institution<sup>5</sup>. In 1993 the 73rd Constitutional Amendment introduced by Sri Rajiv Gandhi was a major step forward in strengthening and revitalizing of Panchayats. It envisaged the establishment of a democratic decentralized development process through people's participation in decision making implementation and delivery. The most important features of 73rd Constitutional Amendment:

- Three Tier System at village, intermediates and district level with elected representatives
- Seats reserved for SC and ST at all levels on the basis of proportional representation.
- 1/3 rd of the seats reserved for women at all levels.
- To endow Panchayats with powers and authority to enable them to function as institution of self governance.

All the states have enacted new acts or incorporated changes in their existing acts in conformity with the 73rd Constitutional Amendment It must be

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<sup>5</sup> Government of India, 1988, National Perspective Plan for Women 1988-2000 AD, Report of the core group, Ministry of Human Resources Development, Department of Women and Child Welfare, Akashdeep Printers, New Delhi

noted that decentralization was imposed from the top and there was no such a movement or demand from the grassroots level to decentralize. Taking cue from the successful implementation of these provisions several attempts to enact legislations relating to reservation of seats for women in higher legislative bodies was made. In 1996, 1998, 1999 constitutional Amendment Bills were introduced to reserve seats for women in the Lok Sabhas and state legislative assemblies. All three Bills lapsed with the dissolution of their respective Lok Sabhas. The bill introduced in 1996 was examined by the joint committee of Parliament. Many of its recommendations have been included in the 2008 Bill except the recommendations on reservation for OBCs and in the upper Houses have not been included. The constitution (108th Amendment) bill 2008 was introduced in the Rajya Sabha. The salient features of the Constitution(108th Amendment) Bill 2008 are

- 1/3rd of all the seats in the Lok Sabha and the State Legislative assemblies are to be reserved for women. The allocation of reserved seats is to be determined by such authority as prescribed by parliament.
- Reserved seats are to be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in the state and union territory.
- 1/3rd of the total number of seats reserved for SC and STs are to be reserved for women from these groups.
- Reservation of seats for women is to cease after 15 years from the commencement of the amendments act.



The bill was passed by the government despite the threat of withdrawal of support by Samajawadi Party and Rashtriya Janatha Dal was passed by a 2/3 rd majority of the votes polled. 186 have voted in favour of the bill and only one was against the bill. This Bill though was passed in the Rajya Sabha, the Lok Sabha has not yet voted on the bill till today.

In Karnataka Panchayat Raj was introduced on Nov 1st 1959 when Mysore Village Panchayat and Local Boards Act were passed within the broad framework of Balwant Ray Mehta Committee Report. This was only an attempt to have uniform legislations; there was no effort to confer real powers and resources to the Panchayats Raj Institutions<sup>6</sup>. In 1972 when Devaraj Urs became the Chief Minister he took to improve the economic conditions of the disadvantage sections in the society through a number of innovative welfare oriented programmes. To ensure that his welfare programmes reached the disadvantage Urs decentralized the planning machinery of the state. The Taluk Development Boards (TDB) was vested with powers and resources to function as crucial institution for the distribution of benefits to the rural poor<sup>7</sup>. The TDB were indirectly constituted and were not representative institutions of the people. But in 1975 the TDB and many village Panchayats were superseded and placed under administrators. This measure had brought about an awakening among the disadvantage groups in Karnataka, who now were aware of the benefits that they could receive from the government. When Gundu Rao became the Chief Minister he over

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<sup>6</sup> Krishna M.G: 1992, Panchayat Raj in India, Mittal Publication New Delhi. pp.95-98.

<sup>7</sup> Srinivas M.N. and Panini M.N., 1984, Politics and Society in Karnataka, Economic and Political Weekly, 19(2) as mentioned in Kumar Girish, 2006, Local Democracy in India, Interpreting Dencentralisation, Sage Publications, New Delhi, Thousand Oakes, London, p.73..

centralized power in his hands and delegated powers to civil servant. This lead to practically alienating all the section of the society. Having seen benefits given by the government coming to the door step for the first time during Urs rule the downtrodden sections of the society were the most aggrieved. It was among them that Ramakrishna Hegde made his constituency and was able to defeat the congress for the first time<sup>8</sup>. This also explains the context in which decentralization was introduced in Karnataka.

The Janata party came to power in 1983. Ramakrishna Hedge who became the chief Minister took a decisive step to give direct representation to disadvantaged section in decentralized Panchayat Raj Institution. In august 1983 Hegde and his Rural Development Minister Abdul Nazir Saab introduced Karnataka Zilla Parishads, Taluk Panchayat samitis, Mandal Panchayat and Nyaya Panchayats bill in the state assembly. The Bill became an act in July 1985; it was brought into force with effect from 14th August 1985 and was called The Karnataka Zilla Parishads, Taluk Panchayat Samitis, Mandal Panchayats and Nyaya Panchayat Act 1985. This Act was more or less based on the Ashok Mehta Committee Report. The Objective of the Act are to give highest priority to rural development, increase agriculture production, create employment, eradicate poverty and bring about all-around improvements in the rural economy, through peoples participation. The Panchayat elections were held in 1987, to the Zilla Parishad and Mandal Panchayats and its members were elected as per the

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<sup>8</sup> Kumar Girish, 2006, Local Democracy in India, Interpreting Dencentralisation, Sage Publications, New Delhi, Thousand Oakes, London, pp.74-79.

provision provided in the act. Taluk Panchayat Samitis was not an elected body. For the first time 25% of the total number of the members of the Mandal Panchayats and Zilla Parishad were women. Mention must be made here that reservation were given before any powerful women's lobby emerged in Karnataka to press for the move and before there was any popular groundswell of opinion in favor of women's reservation<sup>9</sup>. Women were caught quite unprepared by this development'<sup>10</sup> and were brought into this system as one dimension of this complex process and it defines the context in which they have to function.

This experiment in Karnataka encouraged the congress government under the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at the centre to pass the 73rd Constitutional Amendment. Karnataka's ministers for Rural Development and Panchayat M.V Ghorpade presented the Karnataka Zilla Parishads, Taluk Panchayats, Mandal Panchayats (Amendments) Bill 1993 for the consideration of the houses on April 3rd<sup>11</sup>. In the assembly debate issues like delimitation, transfer of power to Panchayat Raj Institutions, whom to appoint as CEO's reservation for SC and ST's were debated at length. But 33% reservation for women and matter relating to their effective participation were not raised in the debate. This reflects the patriarchal mind set of the legislatures. The bill was presented haphazardly and though the important

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<sup>9</sup> Kishwar Madhu: 1990 "Women's Marginal Role In Politics" Manushi.

<sup>10</sup> Poornima and Vyasulu Vinod: 1999, Women in Panchayat Raj: Grassroots Democracy in India, experience from malgudi, Background Paper No 4, Meeting on Women and Political participation; @1st Century challenges, UNDP, New Delhi.

<sup>11</sup> Kumar Girish: 2002 No 4 CHS Occassional Paper, Constituionalising Panchayats, The Response of State Legislatures, French Research Institute in India,p47-48.

issues raised in the Bill were not properly articulated. The minister hoped that the Karnataka Panchayat Bill he was presenting would serve as a model for the rest of the states in the country<sup>12</sup>. The Bill was passed and Karnataka Panchayat Raj Act 1993 replaced the earlier Act of 1985.

It established a three tier system of fully elected decentralized Governance. 33% of the seats are reserved for women at all the levels and another 33% are reserved for the backward classes additionally seats are reserved for the SC and ST in proportion to their population. The post of Adhyaksha and Upadhyakshas are subject to reservation by rotation. The Grama Sabha comprising of all registered voters is established by the act.

To strengthen the Panchayat Raj Institution the Karnataka Panchayat Raj Act 1993 has been amended several times. In August 2010 Karnataka Panchayat Raj (Amendment) bill 2010 was passed and a gazette notification was issued reserving 50% of the seats for women in all three tiers of the Panchayat Raj set up. In December 2010 Zilla and Taluk Panchayat election 50% of the seats were reserved for women. Polls were held for 997 Zilla Panchayat in 30 districts and 3659 Taluk Panchayat seats in 176 taluks. 498 and 1,829 seats were reserved for women in all Zilla and Taluk Panchayats respectively in the state<sup>13</sup>. Since election to the Grama Panchayats was held in May 2010 the new act could not be implemented and 33% reservation continued at the Grama Panchayat level. 50% of the seats for women shall

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> The Hindu: 2010, 10th August, Taluk ,Zilla, Panchayat polls likely in December.

be reserved at the Grama Panchayats level from 2015. The percentage representation of women in the three levels of Panchayat Raj Institutions in Karnataka Grama Panchayat, Taluk Panchayat and Zilla Panchayat are 43.02 % 55.15 % and 53.21% respectively.

Karnataka has been considered a pioneer in devolution to Panchayats. This has led to impressive development particularly in rural infrastructure such as water supply, roads and school buildings over the past two decades. Karnataka was also the first state in India to introduce the policy of reservation for women in Panchayat Raj institutions. This Act has had a tremendous effect on rural women in the state by legitimizing not only the entry of women in great number into hitherto male dominated public space but also by giving them functional decision making powers, no matter how limited and constrained over public resources<sup>14</sup>. Though many women have entered the Panchayat Raj institutions at all levels and also have become Adhyakshas and Upadhyakshas a closer look at the ground realities reveals a complex picture. Mere participation of women in the Panchayats cannot be termed as empowerment. There are various social constraints and institutional constraints which have interfaced to form a very complex structure within which women have to function. This chapter identifies these constraints which are in particular effecting women and argues that these constraints are limiting women's ability to make strategic life choices. Discussions with elected women representatives and NGO's in three districts

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<sup>14</sup> Karnataka Development Report: 2002 Planning Commission, Academic Foundation, New Delhi, p.385-387.

and reports published by the Government of Karnataka are collated to identify the constraints.

### **Social constraints**

In Karnataka villages are been dominated by powerful peasant proprietors whose wealth derives mainly from cultivation, that is to say they are members of the two well known jati clusters the Vokkaligas and Lingayats<sup>15</sup>. Karnataka rural social organization and village level dominance are not based wholly on caste. The poorer villagers perceive inequalities and exploitation which are to large extent products of class difference, but they tend to express this in language heavily laced with caste cliché. And that is not entirely inappropriate since caste as material reality plays an important role in sustaining inequalities and exploitation<sup>16</sup>. The kind of people that one finds in dominant roles has barely changed over the decades<sup>17</sup>, due to legislative interventions and changing economic conditions the disadvantaged communities like SC's and ST's were able to claim their rights over spaces which was denied to them so far. But in case of gender there was no separate category 'it is almost always alloyed with caste, class and religious factors'<sup>18</sup>. The reservation in Panchayats was provided so that the traditional gender, caste and class roles and hierarchies are eroded, but it is

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<sup>15</sup> Srinivas M.N: 1959, The Dominant Caste in Rampura, American Anthropologist, Vol-1 xi, p.1-16.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. Srinivas M.N. 1959.

<sup>17</sup> Manor James: 2006, Karnataka: Caste, class, Dominance and Politics in a Cohesive Society in Sudipta Kaviraja:(ed), 2006, Politics in India, Oxford University Press, p.263.

<sup>18</sup> Tiwary Nupur: 2007, The Experience of Empowering Women, Panchayat Members in India, in Ram Sundar. D(ed): Problems Challenges and Opportunities in Panchayat Raj Reforms in India, Kanishka Publishers, New Delhi, p.213-214.

a long and difficult process because they tend to disguise and take new forms with changing social, economic and political conditions.

The patriarchal system has created hierarchy not only in the family but also in the public space. Women accept this hierarchy because family and extended family is their only support system. The family plays an important role in supporting Elected Women Representatives (EWR) to the Panchayats in performing their role as elected members. The household responsibility is shared by other members in the family so that EWR can attend Panchayat work. In an interview<sup>19</sup> the EWR expressed that they opposed wife beating, harassment by husband and his family, dowry, domestic violence and other such acts but hierarchy within the family was acceptable to them. The women who are victims of such violence attract sympathy from the community only if they are performing their familial roles. Most women do not question the authority of men over women because it is considered a right of the man to question women in his family and even beat them up if they fail to carry out the household responsibility. The men folk in the family take decisions for the women not only within the family but also when women are elected as representatives to the Panchayat. But there are cases where some EWR played a dominant role in the Panchayats and it was accepted by the people because these women belong to families which are economically well off and are politically well connected. Some EWR's father, husband or father-in laws are former Panchayat members and because of the

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<sup>19</sup> 20th to 23rd April 2011: Interaction with Elected Women Representative of Grama Panchayats in Nelamangala

reservation policy have got the women of their family elected into the Panchayat. Such women are proxies for the men in their family and perform their duties as instructed by their male relatives in their family. It has been observed that most of these women do take up such political positions once their term expires. Panchayats represent the patriarchal society from which they are formed. Women have internalized these patriarchal norms and values and think of them to be natural.

The EWR from Bangalore North Taluk, while discussing about their participation in the Panchayats gave an impression that they prefer playing it safe and avoided controversies<sup>20</sup>. The women expressed that they were unhappy with selection of beneficiaries under various schemes. The dominant members distributed them to their favorites. But it is also true that 'it is difficult to be judicious in the selection of beneficiaries'<sup>21</sup> as the schemes are not demand driven and are target driven. The EWR hesitated to question such irregularities as they feared non-cooperation when it comes to getting work done. The women members felt that the anti social elements in their wards will be encouraged to create trouble for them if they opposed these men in the Panchayats. Many women felt it was better not to get involved and mind only their wards business as they were elected to serve only for five years. Some women members have admitted that they prefer to withdraw from being part of such controversies.

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<sup>20</sup> 24th to 26th April 2011: Interaction with Dasanapura, Hurallichikkanahalli and Hoskote Grama Panchayat Members.

<sup>21</sup> Kumar Girish 2006.



But In case of women from Hunsur Taluk due to the support from women's organization called Mahila Samakya the women have emerged as pressure groups for demanding facilities and benefits and have built an excellent rapport with the local Panchayat members<sup>22</sup>. The women trained by this organization and support the EWR and ensure that facilities under various schemes are made available to them. The women along with the EWR had also protested and demanded that the liquor shop near their village to be shut down and even threatened to burn the shop if it was not closed. They were successful and the liquor shop was shifted to a distant place. It must be remembered that in our culture liquor consumption is looked down as a vice so when women take such issues it may not be difficult for them to get support from the community. Women admitted the fact that they failed to prevent their men from consuming liquor.

Illiteracy is a basic problem among the newly EWR as they have to depend upon others due to their ignorance of basic matters including putting their signatures on documents and other such correspondence. Another problem which was highlighted during the discussion with the educated EWR was that they find the language of the rules and guidelines issued by the government very difficult to comprehend. Thus they were completely dependent on the officials for all correspondence. In such circumstances government officials tend take advantage and dominate. It also shows the insensitivity of our system to the peoples requirements.

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<sup>22</sup> 22nd March 2011: Interaction with Women Panchayat members trained by Mahila Samakya, Mysore.

**Institutional constraints**

Election to the Panchayats is not only delayed for all levels there are many irregularities that have been reported. Elections to the Grama Panchayat are conducted in accordance with the provision of the Karnataka Panchayat Raj (Conduct of Elections) rules 1993. These rules state that elections to the Grama Panchayats shall be held on apolitical basis but 2010 Grama Panchayat election it has been noticed that political parties have left no stone unturned and are fielding their candidates obviously without party symbols, with a larger aim to gain strength in the grass roots bodies. Media reports have it that a new brand of politics has been introduced for the Grama Panchayat elections in which low profile candidates are being eased out to ensure unanimous elections<sup>23</sup>. In Hoskote Taluk of Bangalore rural district four Grama Panchayats did not go through the process of elections in 2010 Grama Panchayat elections and as many as 111 Grama Panchayats seats had their representatives getting elected unopposed.

Since 1993 a new Phenomenon has emerged politics in rural areas has become a profitable enterprise. The reason being, Panchayats are giving construction contracts under various schemes. The Grama Panchayats do not follow tendering process and the contracts of such work are awarded to the relatives or those who are close to elected representatives<sup>24</sup>. To get these contracts the contractors put up their proxies who are less assertive to

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<sup>23</sup> The Hindu, 2010 24th April, Politics Creeps into Grama Panchayat Election".

<sup>24</sup> Government of India, 2010, Report of the third State Finance Commission.

contest or support and campaign for candidates who will favor them. They do everything needed to get their candidates elected. It was only because of the reservation policy that women are pushed to contest the elections. Most people in rural areas are concerned with these contracts and not about the how women are going to be benefitted by participating in the Panchayats. It is also true that without the support of such people winning an election is difficult. By putting up women to these positions the contractors/men within the family with vested interest try to retain their influence in the Panchayats. EWR have confessed to have favored the contractors who have helped them win the elections.

In 2010 Zilla Panchayat and Taluk Panchayat elections 50% of the seats were reserved for women. To abide by this rule the BJP, Janata Dal (secular) and Congress struggled hard to find women to contest these elections. Leaders cutting across party lines admitted that several women matching the profile of a Panchayat member has turned down offers<sup>25</sup>. According to them most women perceive politics as a dirty game from which they cannot emerge with their reputation intact. Also the domination of MLA and MP's do not allow women to function independently once in power. Well aware of this women prefer not to enter politics. Educated middle class women prefer to take employment which assures them a fixed income and to live with respect than politics in which they have to risk their reputation. This led to party member's convincing women from their family to contest in these elections. Madhu Kishwar, a writer and academician points out that woman

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<sup>25</sup> The Times of India, 2010, 13th December, "Dirty politics Keeps Women off ZP Polls".

have relatively less ability to use money, muscle power and other forms of influence in the public sphere<sup>26</sup>.

In Karnataka a system of accelerated rotation has been adopted since 1998. Reservations in respect of leadership posts are rotated once in every 20-month for ZP and TP Adhyakshas and Upadhyakshas, and once in 30 months for Gram Panchayat Adhyakshas and Upadhyakshas. Thus there are 3 reservation rotation exercises in every 5-year term of the ZP and the TP. Similarly there are 2 rotation exercises in respect of Gram Panchayats in one 5 year term. This has caused harm as it does not allow Panchayat leaders to gain experience. It also does not allow them to gain a long term perspective. This has undermined the post, prevented emergence of good leadership and snowballed into an even faster pace of turn-by-turn occupancy of leadership posts, through local political arrangements. Women in such circumstances do not lobby like their male counterparts nor do they try to manipulate the situation in their favor. Women accept positions like Adhyakshas and Upadhyakhas because of the reservation policy.

During an interaction with the women member said that they did not participate in the process of planning budget<sup>27</sup> making which was one of the most important functions of the Grama Panchayats. For this the women must prioritize their local needs and voice it before the Grama Sabha and Grama

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<sup>26</sup> The Illustrated Weekly of India, 1990, 24th February, "Sidelined", p32-33.

<sup>27</sup> 24th March 2011 Interaction with Elected women representatives of Grama Panchayats at Indian Institute of Social and Economic Change

Panchayats which many women were not aware. Further analysis revealed that Section 241 of the Karnataka Panchayat Raj act enjoins the secretary /PDO of the Grama Panchayat to prepare the budget and place it before the general body meeting of the Panchayat, which is scheduled to be called between first day of February and the tenth day of March. The budget as passed by the Grama Panchayat will be sent to the Taluk Panchayats for better consideration and follow up action. Thus plans made by Panchayats turn out to be Plans made by the officials and not by the people. Though Panchayats are supposed to be self governing institutions but in actual they are run by government officials.

The 73rd constitutional amendment has laid the foundation for bottom up planning approach by introducing the District Planning Committee as third level of planning and Grama Sabha/Ward Sabha committee as fourth level of planning at the grass roots. But planning for development was not given due importance by the members of the Grama Panchayat. Even if the plans are made they do not take into account medium and long term vision and overall integrated development and are just placed before the District Planning Committee for Customary approval. Most Elected Women representatives were under the impression that their only duty was to identify the beneficiaries and help them to apply under various schemes and to get construction work done in their constituencies. This is what was done by men members in the Panchayats and women tend to follow the same pattern. Only EWR who were associated with women's organizations were aware of the planning process. Thus development activities are not taken up and the

role of Panchayat is limited to implementation of various government schemes. Moreover the Panchayats have to function within the given rules and guidelines which leaves them with little options for governance and innovations.

International forces, national and regional governments have played a dominant role in bringing about development. Vulnerable sections of the society especially women had to constantly adjust to the various development strategies; it may be centralization, decentralization liberalization; all these were top down approaches imposed on women. Women were not involved in planning these strategies of development and are thus only participants in them. The development strategies have fixed goals and objectives and women were made to cater to these goals and objectives.

The Panchayats play an important role in developing rural infrastructure but have failed to empower women who participate in them. The Panchayats are mere delivery agencies of various welfare schemes and distributors of construction work for contractors. The Panchayats enable women to meet the practical needs like drinking water, sanitation facilities, roads etc but do not enable women to challenge the hidden structures like class, caste, gender, patriarchy etc which shape the distribution of resources and power in a society and reproduce it over time. When EWR are able to voice their needs through the Panchayats and these needs are converted into policy by the state and national governments only then development will

reach women. For this to take place the Panchayats Raj Institution must be strengthened so the caste, class and gender issues do not dominate the functioning of the Panchayats. Effective participation in the Panchayats will expand the ability of women which will lead towards empowerment..

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## **CHAPTER - V**

### **ISSUES AND CHALLENGES IN WOMEN’S ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT**

Women comprise nearly 70% of the population living below poverty line and are very often in situations of extreme poverty. Entrenched patriarchal norms and customs mean that women’s work goes unnoticed and is unpaid for. The double burden<sup>1</sup> of work placed on her (unrecognized household work and low pay in recognized work) coupled with early marriage and childbearing responsibility limits her access to education and training for skill development and in turn limiting women’s ability to participate in the labour market, particularly in the organized formal sector. As a result women work in unorganized informal sector which is more compatible with her low level education and skill development. Another reason for poverty among women is they lack the control and access to various productive resources like land, raw material, credit, marketing etc. These resources are very essential for the economic empowerment of women. To Empower women economically the Government of India has made provision of training, employment and income-generation activities with both ‘forward’ and ‘backward’ linkages with the ultimate objective of making all potential women

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<sup>1</sup> Hoshschild Russel Arlie and Anne Machung: 1998, The Second Shift: Working Parents and The Revolution at Home, Viking Penguin, New York, p.1-18



economically independent and self-reliant<sup>2</sup>. In order to ensure that this objective is achieved many programmes for women have been launched with the ultimate objective of making economically independent and self reliant.

To increase employment among women, several initiatives have been taken by Government of India and Karnataka and programmes have been launched for the economic empowerment of women. 90% of women work in informal sectors. Their work goes unnoticed and is unpaid for and is invisible in the National account due to the problem of definition of work. The 2001 census was able to record only 25.7% as female workforce; therefore continuous efforts are made to provide conceptual clarity to the definition of work by the Census and National Sample Survey Organization<sup>3</sup>. An attempt is made to capture data on women's work in the informal sector but a detailed report of 2011 census on this subject is still awaited. Shramashakti- The Report of The National Commission of Self Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector (1988) and the findings/results of the 4th Economic Census has made recommendations for the betterment of women in the informal sectors; attempts are made to put some recommendations into practice while some are yet to be implemented.

In order to fulfill the objective of Right to Work for every citizen special efforts are made to generate employment both wage and self employment

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<sup>2</sup> Government of India, Tenth Five Year Plan, 2002 to 2007, Planning Commission, <http://planningcommission.gov.in>

<sup>3</sup> Government of India, Ninth Five Year Plan, 1997 to 2002, Planning Commission, <http://planningcommission.gov.in>

opportunities for women to make potential women economically independent and self reliant. The training-cum-employment-cum-income generation project which are implemented by the government are<sup>4</sup> Integrated Rural Development Project (IRDP), Training of rural youth for self – employment(TRYSEM), Nehru Rozgar Yojana (JRY), Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojana(PMRY), Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA),Indira Mahila Yojana(IMY) which is now called Swayamsidha, Support for Training and Employment (STEP) NORAD assisted Training – cum production centres, Socio-Eco programme(SEP) etc. Apart from these women specific programmes, the general anti poverty programmes like Swarna Jayanthi Gram Swarozgar Yojana and Jawahar Gram Samridhhi Yojana envisages reservation of employment opportunities for women. All these programmes aimed at creating employment-cum-income generation opportunity and targeted women living below poverty line.

In the urban areas poverty alleviation programme<sup>5</sup> like Nehru Rozgar Yojana(NRY), Urban Basic Services For the Poor(UBSP), Prime Minister Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Programmes(PMIUPEP) target women in slums to improve their quality of life. Under these schemes skill upgradation was provided to the poor women. The urban development sector has a scheme called Swarna Jayanthi Shahari Rozgar Yojana which provides gainful employment to the urban unemployed/under employed through both wage and self employment ventures. Under this programme is

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<sup>4</sup> Government of India, Ninth Five Year Plan, 1997 to 2002, Planning Commission, <http://planningcommission.gov.in>

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

the Urban Self Employment Programme for the urban poor women, Development of Women and Child in Urban Areas (DWCUA) provides assistance to groups of urban poor women for setting up gainful self-employment ventures.

Majority of women in rural areas are employed in agriculture and its allied sectors. So many programmes were designed to train women in soil conservation, social forestry, dairy development and other occupations allied to agriculture like horticulture, livestock including small animal husbandry, poultry, fisheries etc. Efforts were also made to identify the traditional sectors that are shrinking due to advancement of technology, market shifts and changes in the economic policies. Women who are displaced are encouraged to take up jobs in the new and expanding areas of employment. For women workers in sectors like Khadi and Village Industries, handicrafts handlooms, sericulture, small scale and cottage industries appropriate policies and programmes are formulated to generate both wage and self employment opportunities. Land rights are very essential to empower women economically and also to strengthen their ability to challenge social and political inequalities. Efforts are also made to ensure effective implementation of land reform legislation, ceiling and distribution of surplus land and issue of joint Pattas under government scheme<sup>6</sup>, Credit support is given to poor women to purchase or lease land, provides legal support for women's inheritance rights, incentives and subsidies on women owned land

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<sup>6</sup> Government of India, Tenth Five Year Plan, 2002 to 2007, Planning Commission, <http://planningcommission.gov.in>

are some of the measures implemented by the government. But in practice it is the traditions and customs of the family that decides women rights to land, and in case of property is in the name of women she is depended on the family to decide for her and rarely takes independent decisions.

Efforts are made to increase the access to credit for women through appropriate institutional mechanism like Rashtriya Mahila Kosh(RMK), National Agricultural Bank for Rural Development(NABARD) , Council for Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology(CAPART), Women co-Operative/ SHG's and other financial institutions. The Women Development Corporation also provides both forward and backward linkages of credit and marketing facilities to women entrepreneurs.

At the state level all programmes with respect to women development and women empowerment is implemented by the Women and Child Development Department. The department implements programmes in the areas of employment, training for women, awareness generation and gender sensitization<sup>7</sup>. The emphasis is on helping women to become self sufficient and economically independent with the help of training and income generating activities so as to enhance their earning capacity and to bring up their status in life. The major programmes implemented by the department for the economic empowerment are as follows.

Karnataka is the first state in the country to introduce a scheme of inter-sector allocations for women. The scheme is to year mark one third of

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<sup>7</sup> Government of Karnataka ,Department of Women and Child Development, <http://dwcdkar.gov.in>

resources for women in individual beneficiary oriented schemes and labour intensive schemes of various departments of government. The department launched Karnataka Mahila Abhivrudhi Yojane (KMAY) during 1995-96 to ensure gender equality and to integrate women in the mainstream of development<sup>8</sup>. It was a land mark government order as it was for the first time that a conscious and positive attempt was made by Government to address gender issues. During 2006-07, 25 departments had identified 208 schemes. Out of the total outlay of Rs 2320.41 crores one third allocation for women is Rs 1057.83 crores. Of which an amount of Rs 1034.04 crores has been incurred as at the end of February 2007. KMAY cell was created in the year 2003 in the directorate to function as a nodal department to monitor the KMAY programme.

The Stree Shakti scheme was launched during 2000-01 with an objective to empower rural women and make them self reliant by inculcating the habit of savings and proper utilization of financial resources<sup>9</sup>. Anganwadi workers and supervisors are instrumental in organizing rural women in Self Help Groups. About 15 to 20 women who belong to below poverty line families, landless agricultural labourers, SC/ST join together to form one self help group. As on March 2010 there are 1, 40,000 self help groups have been formed in the state. 20.731 lakh women members have been organized in these groups till January 2010, and the members have saved

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<sup>8</sup> Government of Karnataka ,Department of Women and Child Development, <http://dwcdkar.gov.in>

<sup>9</sup> Government of Karnataka, Finance Department ,Budgets, <http://www.finance.kar.nic.in/budget-m.htm>

an amount of Rs. 835.25 crores. A total of 1, 24,008 groups have availed bank loans to the extent of Rs.1125.59 crores and internal loan of Rs.1906.00 crores to take up various income generating activities.

Swayamsidha is a centrally sponsored scheme launched from 2000-01. It is an integrated project for development and empowerment of rural women and is based on the formation of women's self help groups with emphasis on converging services, developing access to micro credit and promoting micro enterprises<sup>10</sup>. Indira Mahila Yojana started in the state in 10 blocks in the year 1996 has been renamed as Swayam Siddha and is now being implemented in 20 blocks of the state.

Government of Karnataka vide order No DPAR 34 SRR 95 dated 06-03-1996 has directed that in all direct recruitments 30% of the vacancies shall be filled from among women candidates vide government order dated 15.7.1996. This has helped to increase the number of women working in public sector. Also special concession and relaxation like multiple entries, increase in upper age limit, flexi timing etc is provided for women. Hostels for working women, crèches/day care centers at work place etc are provided so that women can find time to be more productive.

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<sup>10</sup> Government of India, Tenth Five Year Plan, 2002 to 2007, Planning Commission, <http://planningcommission.gov.in>

While the impact of various programmes and policies implemented over the years have brought certain changes in the economic conditions of women, there still are certain problems and gaps that are existing. The patriarchal system continues to control the economic resources and its distribution. Women continue to function in accordance with the patriarchal norms and customs.

According to the Employment and Training Department, Bangalore the total employment of women in organized sector as on 31 March 2012 was 7, 64,669 of which 2, 90, 983 were in public sector and 4, 73,686 were in private sector<sup>11</sup>. However women’s participation in the organized sector is still very low as compared to men. Employment in Karnataka is largely unorganized, rural and non-industrial in nature.

As per 2011 census in urban areas, the total population of workers is 69.58 lakhs of which only 24.11 lakhs are females. In rural areas out of 185.02 lakhs, 113.11 lakhs are males and 71.90 lakhs are females. Over the years though there is an increase in the number of women workers which is positive but it has always been much lower than that of male workers. The rural female workers have always been higher than the urban female workers but most of the female work force in rural areas is in the unorganized sector. Women in this sector do not receive wages equal to men and majority of them are marginal workers as compared to men majority

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<sup>11</sup> Government of Karnataka: Economic Survey of Karnataka 2012-2013, Planning Programme Monitoring and Statistical Department.

of who are main workers<sup>12</sup>. Men generally are better skilled than the women and take up the high paid main work and women who are unskilled are crowded in the low paid work.

**Table 5.1 Work Participation rate of main and marginal workers by sex (%) in Karnataka 2001 and 2011**

Main Workers				Marginal Workers				Non Workers			
2001		2011		2001		2011		2001		2011	
F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
20.6	51.7	23.4	53	10.9	5	8.5	6	68	43.4	68.1	41

*Source: Economic Survey of 2011-2012, Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Government of Karnataka.*

Another significant trend in the rural area is that men have migrated to nonfarm jobs which have led to feminization of agriculture. Though more women have entered agriculture sector they do not have access to agriculture land which in turn affect agriculture productivity. As per the ministry of agriculture 80 % of the farmers in India are women and 60 to 80 percent India's food production is done by women. Though women till the land only 9% of rural women in India hold ownership titles of the land. Patriarchy weighs so heavy on the Minds of women that they find it very difficult to go against their Sons, Husbands and Brothers, who end up taking away their land entitlement<sup>13</sup>. According to 2010-11 Agriculture Census in Karnataka the total number of agricultural holders is 78,32,189 having an

<sup>12</sup> Government of Karnataka: Economic Survey of Karnataka 2012-2013, Planning Programme Monitoring and Statistical Department.

<sup>13</sup> Deccan Herald: 2013 April, 13 Hands that harvest Security from agriculture lands.



area of 1,20,61,457 hectares of which women are 14,86,479 and having an area of 18,98,304 hectares.

Another important qualitative dimension of employment is the composition of the workforce in terms of their status of employment: Self employment, Regular /Salaried employment and Casual employment. While regular paid employment is generally considered secure in terms of income, duration of work and other benefits, for the typical casual worker, neither the duration of employment nor income is certain. The self employment though fairly secure, but income from certain types of self-employment activities might be highly irregular, inadequate and even uncertain.

**Table 5.2 Percentage Distribution of workers by employment status for Karnataka 2009-2010**

Employment Status	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Self Employment	48.4	42.8	46.3	39.5	34.1	38.3	45.3	41.1	43.9
Regular Wage	6.9	5.6	6.4	39.3	39.9	39.4	18.2	12.3	16.3
Casual Labour	44.7	51.6	47.3	21.2	26.6	22.2	36.5	46.6	39.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Source: 61th and 66th Round Employment and Unemployment Survey, NSSO, 2001-2010.*

The above table indicates the share of female employment is higher both in case of self employment and casual employment while their share in regular employment is much lower compared to their male counter parts. The share of females in regular secure jobs was lower than the male share in both rural and urban areas. This casual employment is higher for female than all categories. So this clearly states that women are crowded in low paid

casual work and regular/secure jobs are taken by men. The familial responsibility like child bearing, caring and household responsibility come in the way of women to participate in regular jobs. Self employment is another area where women are participating but the once again women's opportunity is limited due lack skills, training and financial support.

In the recent years almost all programmes are for income generation and the approach is to form Self help groups. This strategy has become the most important strategy to simultaneously address both poverty among women and to economically empower them. SHGs are formed to provide credit to poor women which otherwise was not available to them through any of the formal financial institutions. The main objectives of these SHGs are to increase the income levels of women which will ultimately lead to economic independence. The idea of bring women on a common platform such as SHG's was that women will be exposed to the world outside and will have access to network that will help them develop other social and political roles. When women contribute to the family income it was assumed that they will participate in household decisions about expenditure and influence the family to spend more on women welfare.

Experiments with micro finance started in Karnataka in the mid 1980's. MYRADA a non-governmental organization started several co-operative societies that were enabled to give loans to their members. The large Co-operatives broke up into small groups which were called as Credit management Groups with a focus on the management of credit. This

initiative was passed to National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) which launched the SHG-Bank Linkage programme in 1991-92. NABARD defines SHG's as a group of twenty or less people from a homogeneous class who are willing to come together for addressing their common problem. They make regular savings to give interest-bearing loans to their members. The very first loans to SHG,s in the country were given in Kolar district of Karnataka by the Vysya Bank Bangarapet branch to Venkateshwara Mahila Sangha of Muduguli on December,9, 1991 and by the Corporation Bank, Andersonpet branch to Saraswathi Mahila Sangha of Boduguriki on January, 30,1992. In 1994-95 the first Regional Rural Bank the Cauvery Grameena Bank of Mysore district as an SHG promoting institution was launched.

In the 1990's IFAD, with World Bank collaboration and in partnership with the Government of India and six state governments including Karnataka launched a similar programme titled Swashakti. It was managed by Karnataka State Women's Development Corporation and was closed in June 2005. Stree Shakti scheme based on the SHG strategy was launched on 18, October, 2000 and is being implemented throughout the state to empower rural women and make them self reliant.

**Table 5.3 : Self-help Groups in Karnataka**

<b>Programme</b>	<b>No. of SHGs Promoted</b>	<b>SHGs facilitated by</b>	<b>Programme focus</b>
<b>Swashakti</b> Implemented by the Karnataka State Women's Development Corporation with IFAD-World Bank assistance.	2139	NGO partners of the Karnataka State Women's Development Corporation.	Empowerment of women. No credit or subsidy component. Emphasis on training for self-development.
<b>Stree Shakti</b> Implemented by the state government under the Department of Women and Child Development.	100000	Mainly anganwadi workers of the Department of Women and Child Development. Some NGOs now being involved.	Empowerment of women through savings and micro-credit, social awareness. Adequate budgetary provision for training. Grant of Rs.5000 per group as revolving fund.
<b>SUJALA</b> Implemented by the Department of Watershed Development with World Bank assistance.	1171	NGO partners of the Watershed Development Department.	The programme focus is on watershed development. SHGs are included to help the poor and the landless as a means to bring in a measure of equity into the programme. Budgetary provision made for SHG capacity building and to take up income generating activities.
<b>KAWAD</b> Implemented by the Karnataka Watershed Development Society with DFID assistance.	1013	NGO partners of the Karnataka Watershed Development Society. Department staff and NGO's	The programme focus is on watershed development. SHGs are included to help the poor and the landless as a means to bring in a measure of equity into the programme. Budgetary provision made for SHG capacity building and to take up income generating activities.

<p>Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP), Desert Development Programme (DDP), Integrated Watershed Development Programme (IWDP), Western Ghats Development Programme (WGDP), National Wastelands Development Programme (NWDP) These programmes are managed by the Watershed Development Department and implemented through the Zilla Panchayats. Funds are provided by the state and Central Government.</p>	<p>DPAP – 4795 DDP - 3220 IWDP – 1290 WGDP – 1075 NWDP – 2840</p>	<p>.</p>	<p>The programme focus is on watershed development. SHGs are included to help the poor and the landless as a means to bring in a measure of equity into the programme. Budget is provided for training and working capital support (Rs.10,000 per group) to 'community organisations' (not specifically SHGs) but efficiency of use has varied with implementers and quality of monitoring.</p>
<p>Karnataka Urban Development and Coastal Environment Management Project (KUDCEMP) Implemented through Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development and Finance Corporation (KUIDFC) with Asian Development Bank assistance.</p>	<p>3200</p>	<p>Municipal Corporation staff of selected towns along with NGO partners and promoters of Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development and Finance Corporation.</p>	<p>The programme focus is primarily on sanitation and solid waste disposal in urbanising areas. SHGs are included to ensure that the poor are involved both in delivering the planned services and in benefiting from them.</p>

<p>Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY) Bank loans to SHGs accompanied by state and Central Govt. subsidy. Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY)</p>	<p>6896 Not separately calculated since SHGs formed under all programmes in rural areas are included for support.</p>	<p>Staff of Town, Municipal and City Corporations with or without the involvement of NGOs.  No separate cadres engaged to form groups. SHGs formed under all programme are eligible for support depending on annual budgetary quotas.</p>	<p>The programme focus is on using the SHG approach for poverty reduction through channelling of bank loans and government subsidies. Budget is provided for training and working capital support to SHGs but efficiency of use varies with implementers.</p>
<p>SHGs promoted by Regional Rural Banks with NABARD support for capacity building</p>	<p>3044</p>	<p>The staff of the Regional Rural Banks.</p>	<p>Focus is on building up priority sector clientele for SHG-Bank linkage. Budgets for SHG capacity building vary from bank to bank. Efficiency of budget use can even vary from branch to branch of the same bank.</p>
<p>SHGs promoted by Commercial Banks with NABARD support for capacity building</p>	<p>21</p>	<p>The staff of banks concerned.</p>	
<p>SHGs promoted by DCC Banks and Co-operatives</p>	<p>34881</p>	<p>The staff of the DCC Banks/ Co-operatives concerned.</p>	

SHGs promoted by Non-Government Organisations	30000 (approximate number)	The staff of the NGOs concerned. Since NGOs are also involved in several of the programmes listed above, the number of SHGs given here excludes the numbers already given above.	The focus is on empowerment of women but the extent to which this is understood and actually facilitated varies very widely between NGOs. Different levels of budgetary constraints also influence the quality of work.
Total SHGs promoted	195585		

Source: Kamataka Human Development Report 2005

There are 40,295 anganwadi workers, 561 NGO's, 8 regional rural banks, 20 district central co-operative banks and 2 commercial banks are engaged in SHG promotion.

The Table above gives the list of SHG's promoted by the Government of Karnataka. The most successful SHG in Karnataka is Stree Shakti. At present 1,40,000 rural Stree Shakthi groups have been formed in the state and 21.00 lakh women members have been organized in these groups. The members have saved Rs. 1118.05 crores since inception. 120155 groups have availed bank loans to the extent of Rs.1305.97 crores and have done internal lending of Rs. 3215.88 crores to take up various income generating activities. SHG's are not just groups that promote savings and provide credit they are intended to empower their members.

### **Are Women Self Help Groups Empowering women?**

One of the most successful SHG Stree Shakti claims that women's access to financial resources improves her bargaining position within and outside the household and increases her physical mobility and participation in social networks. In this case we must consider that there is a hierarchy of decision making responsibility recognized by the family and community which reserves certain key areas of decision making for men in their capacity as household heads while assigning others to women in their capacity as mother, wives, and daughters and so on. When women take loans for clothing, education, food, health and for social – religious ceremonies, these activities fall within the existing role of women and prevailing norms of the



society. These loans help to perform her role efficiently which in turn leads to an increase in her self confidence and feeling of well being. It is reinforcing the patriarchal norms and do give women the ability to question the hierarchy and discrimination within the family. Access to finance has brought changes in the resources that individual enjoy but have left intact the structures of inequality and discrimination. It may have helped to improve the economic welfare without necessarily empowering them.

Where the poor are concerned savings are made not out of the surplus income, but by cutting down some expenditure somewhere. In theory income minus expenditure equals savings, in the case of the poor the reality is income minus savings equals expenditure<sup>14</sup>. The interest charged by the groups to their members could range from 12% to 36% per annum. Since banks do not lend small amount of loan for unproductive purpose to the poor who are considered credit risk, the member find it convenient to borrow from SHG’s even if the interest rates are exorbitant. When an interaction with the SHG women it was evident that poor women cut their own already inadequate expenditure on food, health and may discriminate against girls for saving or to repay loans. Thus we can see that this strategy is reinforcing the existing gender inequalities and norms in society. The combination of low

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<sup>14</sup> Karnataka Human Development Report, 2005, Planning and Statistical Department.

income, lack of control, greater burden of work and repayment pressure may do little to increase women’s bargaining power within the household<sup>15</sup>.

In an interaction with the SHG members<sup>16</sup> when asked ‘Did they see any changes in their lives in the context of violence meted out to them by spouses and other family members’, most of the women refused to discuss the issue of domestic violence. The involvement of women in social activities such as anti child marriage, anti dowry, anti domestic violence and pro girl’s education is also not impressive except for a few SHG’s who have taken it up because of their association with Non-Governmental Organisations and the support these organizations give women to raise such issues. These are examples of women’s internalization of their own lesser status in society. Domestic violence is not a subject many women like to acknowledge. As financial sustainability is the main objective, the success of an SHG depends on demand for credit and repayment levels, issues of domestic violence and efforts made to tackle such issues are not taken up SHG’s as their main goal.

The empowerment strategies adopted by our policy makers are fixed in a binary system where there is a clear urban, rural divide. Such binaries entail a violent hierarchy in which one term of opposition is always dominant and that such binary opposition exists to confirm that dominance. It is a

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<sup>15</sup> Mayoux Linda: 1997, The Magic Ingredient? Micro Finance and Women Empowerment, Briefing Paper prepared for Micro Credit Summit, Washington DC.

<sup>16</sup> 22nd to 24th March 2011: Interaction with Self Help Group members trained by Mahila Samakya, Chamarajanagar.

common practice that the middle class urban scholars producing scholarship on or about their rural or working class sisters assume their own middle class culture as the norm and codifies peasant working class histories and cultures as other<sup>17</sup>. It is not possible to claim that the urban women have the same experience, basic conditions or aspirations as the poor rural women. When SHG member undertake activities such filling applications, going to banks, etc it is appreciated. They become part of the main stream. But according to the National Family Health Survey-3 finds that women are about 2/3rd more likely to be employed in rural areas than in urban areas. Working rural women do not become referent or norm to urban women. It is always the urban women who are constructed as normative referent in such cases.

SHG’s have a BPL membership of 87% yet only 47% of the loans were dispersed to BPL women, indicating that most economically vulnerable women are not accessing credit<sup>18</sup>. Since loans are given based on individual members saving, the poorest women who are not in a position to save are likely to practice “self-exclusion” and those who are poor credit risks are excluded by the members (SHG’s in India) It is also seen that SHG’s are unable to compete for credit with the more viable SHG’s. When SHG’s do not get credit to lend nor have enough savings from its members they become

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<sup>17</sup> Mohanty: 1991, *Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses in third world women and the politics of feminism*(ed) by Mohanty, Russo, Torres, Indiana University Press, pp.213-215.

<sup>18</sup> Karnataka Human Development Report, 2005, Planning and Statistical Department.

defunct. The survival of SHG does depend on their financial performance. So most donor agencies which are promoting SHG, s their main consideration in programme design is provision of financially self-sustainable micro finance services. Thus limiting the potential of micro finance for Empowerment as well as poverty alleviation.

So we can conclude that SHG strategies in Karnataka have too many objectives and merely providing credit is considered as empowering women. SHG's have improved the economic conditions of its member but this automatically will not enable them to challenge the existing discriminatory norms of the society which are hindering them in making strategic life choices. SHG, s brought changes at the level of individual but did not affect the deeper, hidden structures which shape the distribution of resources and power in a society and reproduce it over time. However for any programme to translate into meaningful and sustainable process of empowerment it must address individual and structural relations in society.

## CHAPTER - VI

### CONCLUSION

On India becoming independent the most important concern of the people and its leaders was to put the nation on the path of development. Various plans, policies and programmes were implemented so that India can develop. However this initiative did not reach certain marginalised section in the society such as women, majority of who continued to live in poverty. The Indian Government soon realised this and adopted a new approach called the empowerment approach so that women could take advantage of the development process. Since the 1990s almost all programmes targeting women are called as programmes for empowerment of women and women were looked upon as agents of change. In order to understand empowerment which is highly contested term it very important to first focus on gender power relations and to understand gender power relations it is important to have a grounding knowledge of the personal , local and also at the same recognizing how global forces shape these relations<sup>1</sup>. The feminist movements both at the global level as well as in India have played a significant role in challenging the power relations especially the power holder. Feminist Movement began in the Western world in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by the upper middle class white woman. They mainly focused on

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<sup>1</sup> Arnfred Signe: 2000, Questions of Power: Women Movement, Feminist Theory and Development AID, in Kabeer Naila's Discussing Women's Empowerment, Theory and Practice, Sida Studies-3, Sida, pp.73-83.

overturning legal inequalities particularly women's suffrage<sup>2</sup>. This movement in the 1960s broadened their debate to include cultural, social and economic inequalities. Women's subordination was questioned and social science disciplines highlighted the role of power and gender relations in understanding women's subordination<sup>3</sup>. Social Construction of gender identity became central to the debate. Towards the 1990s the feminist movement, particularly feminist of the third world took up issues of gender and race and began to challenge the domination of white upper middle class women<sup>4</sup>. The feminist from the third world were discontent with the prevailing economic models and development interventions which were Euro centric. The movement also attempted to demonstrate the concrete materiality of gender subordination as it is constructed by the rules and practices of different institutions, household, market, State and community. These issues were discussed at several international conferences and brought pressure on the governments of the third world about the need to bring about a change in their development policies. These insights from women's movement have been co-opted by the state and development institution. This was reflected in the language of development policies in which the term women was changed to gender.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Freedman Estella.B., 2003, No turning Back: The History of Feminism and The Future of women, Ballantine Books, p.464

<sup>3</sup> Humm Maggie:1995, The Dictionary of Feminist Theory, Columbus:Ohio sate University Press, p 251

<sup>4</sup> Leslie Heywood, Drake Jennifer:1997 third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminism, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press ,p.10

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. Arnfred Signe: 2000,

With this change from women to gender, issues of power became central to women's subordination and inequality. Women's organizations both at the international level as well as the national level put pressure on the governments pursuing development to have policies which will lead to women's empowerment<sup>6</sup>. Empowerment of women was a gender issue and therefore included men because only then was a change possible. But in process of theory being adapted to practice the meaning of empowerment was altered. The main objective of Empowerment Approach is to create an enabling environment where women can freely exercise their rights both within and outside home, as equal partners along with men<sup>7</sup>. To enable women to participate 1/3 of the seats for women are reserved at the urban and rural local self Governments, special strategies are adopted so that women can have access to resources such as credit, training and skill development, health care , violence free environment etc. Women were encouraged to form Self help Groups so that women can come together on a common platform to address issues that matter most to them. But despite all these efforts their concerns are not taken into considerations and seldom get converted to Policies. Women participation in a development agenda gets decided upon by the development agencies without taking cognizance of women's concerns. The plans policies and programmes focus on providing access to certain resources and infrastructure which was so far denied to women and not on power which was central to women's subordination. The

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<sup>6</sup> Parpart.L.Jane, Rai.M.Shirin, Kathleen. A. Standt, Taylor and Francis:2004 Rethinking Empowerment: Gender and Development in a Global/local World,pp. 151-152.

<sup>7</sup> Government of India, Ninth Five Year Plan, 2002 to 2007, Planning Commission, <http://planningcommission.gov.in>

development Plan and policies and Programmes tend to promote the power positions of men while many aspects like the work which women performed such as child care, food production for subsistence etc are not accounted by the Census Reports or the National Sample Survey Organization. Even in the Grama Panchayat level women who are elected to these bodies must prioritize their local needs and voice it before the Grama Sabha and Gram Panchayat. But many women are ignorant of the needs of their wards and do not participate in such planning. Empowerment as projected provides no space for involvement of women in the, planning process and institutional practices that set the overall condition for development. Moreover Empowerment has become an issue of checklist, and a plan to project the progressive side of the government or political correctness. The focus of empowerment has not been local/bottom up approach instead it has been top down /triple down approach. Besides the approach of planning has not been planning with women instead it is planning for women<sup>8</sup>.

To empower women socially the indicators taken into consideration are Health, Education and Violence. It must be noted that these indicators merely indicate the direction of change rather than provide an accurate measurement of social empowerment of women. There is no single method to measure empowerment of women. The Health status of Karnataka and especially of women is better when compared with many other states in India though there is still scope for improvements. There are several programmes

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<sup>8</sup> Hannan Carolyn: 2000, Promoting Equality between Women and Man in Bilateral Development co-operation, Concepts, Goals, Rationales and Institutional arrangement, Lund University, p.285



and facilities which the Government provides. But these initiatives do not reach the poor women due to corruption which is rampant in government run schemes. Most of the programmes and policies associated with health of the women have no doubt grown less narrow in focus and are more inclusive and sensitive to the needs of the women when compared to the earlier programmes. The earlier Programmes viewed women as reproductive beings alone but in the recent years the policies and programmes like the RCH and NRHM have a more Holistic vision of women's health in general. But it is also true that reproductive health is still the central focus of all the programmes and only noticeable difference is that the programmes are now offering a choice of contraceptive methods instead of pushing any one specific one. In order to make health care affordable and accessible alternative medicinal practices were also provided. The government of Karnataka set up the Department of Ayush. This Department is rendering health care and Medical relief to the public through Ayush (Ayurveda, Unani Yoga and Naturopathy). It is well known that even before Allopathy treatments were available people were dependent on traditional methods. Every ecosystem will have its own solutions to solve the problems of that particular ecosystem. Women have knowledge of their ecosystem and the herbs which are available in their surrounding which have medicinal value. The traditional knowledge of health which women have can be better put use by involving women to meet the nutritional and health needs. The cultural and traditional practices which are beneficial and those which are harmful must be identified and awareness must be spread about these practices. This best example of

one such effort is of Mahila Samakya which provides information on herbal remedies called “Hithala Akka”(Handbook of Home Remedies). Women discuss and share this information with one and another in the community. Decentralized and localized campaign in the colloquial language about the traditional knowledge of health involving women must be undertaken. This knowledge base of traditional medicine must be dealt with scientifically and should be integrated into modern medical practices.

Education is considered the most important tool to eliminate gender inequality and to empower women. The Central and State Governments are making efforts so that it is accessible to all. The Sarva Shikshana Abhiyana which focuses on primary education and Rashtriya Madhyamik Shikshana Abhiyana which looks into secondary education are playing a significant role in trying to bring Out of School Children back to school through various programmes. In Karnataka it has been noticed that girls belonging to the SC and ST community are out of School. The reason for these children to be out school is because most of their parents are labourers who migrate from place to place in search of employment. Thus these children are unable to attend school regularly. Efforts are made to bring the girls from these communities to school but it is still to fetch results. With regard to higher education it has been noticed that higher education has failed to address issues of inequality and in many ways reinforced the patriarchal power. Education does not arise out in response to the individual needs, but it arises out of the needs of the society to which the individual is member. Higher education today is oriented to promote values of an urban, competitive,

consumer society. Through the existing education system many professional and technocrats have been produced, but there is a wide gender disparity that is found. Women are concentrated in outdated courses unlike men who by virtue of their position in society are able to take up courses which oriented towards the market needs. Education which has to play a crucial role in eliminating such discriminatory values has failed because modern education is more likely to enhance the skills required for the markets and do address the structures in society that promote discrimination and inequality. At the individual level role of education is to empower women to challenge internalised oppression. Education should enable women to increase self confidence and self esteem, a sense of agency and of self in a wide context and sense of being worthy of and having right to respect from others. These are the core aspect of empowerment, only then women's self perception will change and internalized oppression will be challenged. To achieve this, education needs to be made an agent of social change.<sup>9</sup>

Due to the socio economic changes in the society, women are sharing space with men which so far, were only dominated by men. This has created a strange volatility in society and has led to increase of violence against women. Women has a group are vulnerable in a society because of the ideology of honour. According to this theory women are considered to be repository of family honour and the man is supposedly responsible to protect

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<sup>9</sup> Government of India:1974, Towards Equality , Report of the committee on the status of women , Delhi, p 234.

it and regulate it<sup>10</sup>. The patriarchal society plays a significant role in restricting women's mobility and controlling her sexuality, so when women share the public space, patriarchy controls women's access and visibility to these places by determining the time, place and purpose. Women are seen as illegitimate occupant which is the cause of violence in public spaces. If traditional patriarchal societies treat women as property to be protected, the modern societies treat women as commodities, both these societies simultaneously co exist in our society. In both cases women do not have control over themselves. A change in these power relations will emerge only through a consultative process where voices of all people, especially vulnerable populations are heard and given value<sup>1111</sup>.

Political empowerment of women was considered to be the most important tool to empower women. But in reality we find very few women at the highest levels of decision making such as the Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha, and Vidhana Sabha, These women most often are from powerful political families and have rose to such position because of the political clout the families command. In Karnataka women who have become Ministers are very few and if they are often given soft portfolio such as Women and Child development and so on. It is difficult for many ministers to rule independently and often the party dictates the work to be performed. At the lower levels

<sup>10</sup> Dube Leela:2000, November 11, Vol-xxxv No.46, Doing Kingship and Gender , Economic and Political Weekly

<sup>11</sup> Vishwanath Kalpana and Surabhi Tondon Mehrotra, 2008, March, Safe in the City ? Unequal Status: A Symposium on New Challenges before the Woman's Movement, Seminar 583.

women do not participate in the political process at all. It is the 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Amendment (1993) to the Indian constitution which was a breakthrough towards ensuring equal access and increased participation in political power structures for women. It provided for reservation of seats at the local level both in rural and urban areas. A number of factors limit the active engagement of women in the political sphere. Firstly deeply entrenched stereotypical norms relegate women to the domestic space, with severely restricted engagement in public affairs an area largely dominated by men. Secondly, caste and class restriction and the patriarchal system and mindset pervade the political space provided to women. Women are still not recognized as political entities and their perspective is seldom seen as integral to the design and delivery of services. The third factor is the lack of exposure of women themselves to politics and the absence of any experience in exercising their political responsibilities. Low literacy levels, absence of education and limited or no exposure, all lead to a lack of confidence and many women are unable to comprehend the true spirit of decentralization and recognize the opportunities that it provides. Many Nongovernmental organizations are making efforts to make women participation more effective but these organizations are still not able to reach out to the majority of the people in the state of Karnataka.

Since women comprise the majority of the population below the poverty line and are very often in situations of extreme poverty, given the harsh realities of intra-household and social discrimination, many macroeconomic policies and poverty eradication programmes were

formulated to specifically address the needs and problems of such women. Micro credit is one of the most popular strategies adopted by the state to economically empower women. It is considered to be the panacea for poverty eradication. Women were formed into small groups called the Self Help Groups; the focus of these groups was small savings, credit facilities for consumption and production, group formation etc. The main consideration of these groups is to encourage women to start micro enterprises so that their income will increase and that women's access to financial resources would give them a greater role in decision making at the household level. This strength was expected to trickle down and would enable them to take part in decision making outside their household and influence decision at community level or even help them to play political role. No doubt women have access to financial resources but are not in control of how it could be utilised. But it must be remembered that they were only performing the traditional role of caregivers, food provider's and other such traditionally assigned roles, by performing such role they are only reinforcing the patriarchal norms. Access to financial resources has not given women the ability to question the hierarchy and discrimination within the family. The mobility, skills, access to information and support network was expected to bring about wider movement for social and political change. But in reality formation of Self Help Groups did not get converted into collective action of women to bring about a change. Self Help Groups brought changes at the level of individual in accessing financial resources but did not affect the deeper, hidden structures which shape the distribution of resources and

power in a society and reproduce it over time. However for any programme to translate into meaningful and sustainable process of empowerment it must address individual and structural relations in society.

International forces, national and regional governments have played a dominant role in bringing about development. Vulnerable sections of the society especially women have had to constantly adjust to the various development strategies, be it centralization, decentralization liberalization; all these have been top down approaches imposed on women. Women were not involved in planning these strategies of development and were thus reduced to being only participants in them. Empowerment approach to development is just another strategy which was imposed on women. Education of women, Reservation of seats in the Panchayat Raj Institutions and formation of Self Help Groups to access credit are the core aspects of empowering women socially politically and economically in Karnataka. Mere access to resources and participation without control over them cannot be termed as empowerment of women.

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## APPENDIX

### Population and Percentage Share of Female Population, Literacy Rate and Density as per 2011 Census (Provisional)

SL. NO.	State/District	Population as per 2011 Census			Percentage Share of Female	Literacy Rate			Density Per Sq.Km.
		Males	Females	Total		Persons	Male	Female	
1	Belgaum	2427104	2351335	4778439	49.21	73.94	82.90	64.74	356
2	Bagalkote	952902	937924	1890826	49.60	69.39	80.16	58.55	288
3	Bijapur	1112953	1062149	2175102	48.83	67.20	77.41	56.54	207
4	Bidar	870850	829168	1700018	48.77	71.01	79.94	61.66	312
5	Raichur	966493	958280	1924773	49.79	60.46	71.35	49.56	228
6	Koppal	701479	689813	1391292	49.58	67.28	78.21	56.22	250
7	Gadag	538477	526758	1065235	49.45	75.18	84.89	65.29	229
8	Dharwad	939127	907866	1846993	49.15	80.30	86.83	73.57	434
9	Uttara Kannada	727424	709423	1436847	49.37	84.30	89.72	78.21	140
10	Haveri	819295	779211	1598506	48.75	77.60	84.22	70.65	331
11	Bellary	1280402	1251981	2532383	49.44	67.85	77.24	58.28	300
12	Chitradurga	843411	816967	1660378	49.20	73.82	81.37	66.05	197
13	Davanagere	989602	957303	1946905	49.17	76.30	83.02	69.39	329
14	Shimoga	879817	875695	1755512	49.88	80.50	86.11	74.89	207
15	Udupi	562896	615012	1177908	52.21	86.29	91.69	81.41	304
16	Chikmagalur	567483	570270	1137753	50.12	79.24	85.66	72.88	158

17	Tumkur	1354770	1326679	2681449	49.48	74.32	82.05	66.45	253
18	Bangalore	5025498	4563412	9588910	47.59	88.48	91.82	84.80	4378
19	Mandya	909441	899239	1808680	49.72	70.14	78.14	62.10	365
20	Hassan	885807	890414	1776221	50.13	75.89	83.55	68.3	261
21	Dakshina Kannada	1032577	1051048	2083625	50.44	88.62	93.31	84.04	457
22	Kodagu	274725	280037	554762	50.48	82.52	87.24	77.91	135
23	Mysore	1511206	1483538	2994744	49.54	72.56	78.44	66.59	437
24	Chamarajanagar	513359	507603	1020962	49.72	61.12	67.88	54.32	200
25	Gulbarga	1307061	1257831	2564892	49.04	65.65	75.11	55.87	233
26	Yadgir	591104	581881	1172985	49.61	52.36	63.33	41.31	224
27	Kolar	779401	760830	1540231	49.40	74.33	81.94	66.56	384
28	Chikkaballapura	637504	616873	1254377	49.18	70.08	78.36	61.55	298
29	Bangalore Rural	507514	479743	987257	48.59	78.29	85.44	70.73	441
30	Ramanagara	548060	534679	1082739	49.38	69.20	76.92	61.30	303
	<b>KARNATAKA</b>	<b>31057742</b>	<b>30072962</b>	<b>61130704</b>	<b>49.19</b>	<b>75.60</b>	<b>82.85</b>	<b>68.13</b>	<b>319</b>

Source:- As per 2011 Census (provisional).

### Sex Ratio in Karnataka

Sl No	State/District	Number of Females per 1000 Males											
		1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011 (P)
1	Bagalkote	999	995	974	984	977	997	987	987	997	982	980	984
2	Bangalore	982	958	931	928	922	895	890	886	900	903	908	908
3	Bangalore(R)	996	990	972	970	964	970	960	954	955	945	945	945
4	Ramanagara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	964	976
5	Belgaum	980	9647	957	952	947	956	952	947	957	954	960	969
6	Bellary	968	975	967	970	970	956	960	966	975	966	969	978
7	Bidar	990	979	968	959	949	980	971	963	968	952	949	952
8	Bijapur	996	986	957	962	951	963	967	963	970	948	950	954
9	Chamarajnagar	1024	1015	1007	998	975	978	968	955	956	953	971	989
10	Chikmagalur	907	911	910	886	892	896	903	937	953	977	984	1005
11	Chitradurga	967	968	947	952	937	942	942	946	952	951	955	969
12	Dakshina Kannada	1029	1041	1030	1042	1049	1048	1027	1006	1015	1020	1022	1018
13	Davanagere	971	977	957	949	952	956	948	947	944	942	952	967
14	Dharwad	983	970	956	939	936	858	941	928	938	935	949	967
15	Gadag	995	976	993	981	973	987	981	983	981	969	969	978
16	Gulbarga	974	975	973	970	960	993	989	981	981	962	958	962
17	Yadagiri											982	984



18	Hassan	1010	1019	998	985	977	970	969	974	987	999	1004	1005
19	Haveri	973	973	942	945	944	938	939	938	937	936	944	951
20	Kodagu	801	799	931	803	827	830	862	910	933	979	996	1019
21	Kolar	968	968	957	955	949	973	968	961	971	965	977	976
22	Chikkaballapur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	966	968
23	Koppal	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	968	973	979	989	981	983	983
24	Mandya	1032	1028	999	995	982	990	967	960	960	963	986	989
25	Mysore	1009	1007	989	976	961	966	942	936	948	953	964	982
26	Raichur	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	1004	994	982	988	978	983	992
27	Shimoga	894	897	892	860	869	878	879	919	944	964	978	995
28	Tumkur	985	977	958	962	951	958	956	957	961	959	967	979
29	Udupi	1125	1112	1099	1120	1123	1150	1165	1140	1130	1134	1130	1093
30	Uttara Kannada	925	956	968	952	965	967	946	957	958	966	971	975
<b>KARNATAKA</b>		<b>983</b>	<b>981</b>	<b>969</b>	<b>965</b>	<b>960</b>	<b>966</b>	<b>959</b>	<b>957</b>	<b>963</b>	<b>960</b>	<b>965</b>	<b>968</b>

Source: Census of India 2001 (2011 Provisional)

**Class wise Enrolment from 2000-2001 to 2011-12 in Karnataka**

Year	(I-V classes)			(VI-VIII classes)			(IX-X classes)			Total
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total	(I-X)
2000-01	3195821	3463202	6659023	1260660	1443587	2704247	496445	625330	1121775	10485045
2001-02	3163286	3424999	6588285	1288766	1455802	2744568	504474	630061	1134535	10467388
2002-03	3209952	3423109	6633061	1320444	1463450	2783894	563589	656748	1220337	10637292
2003-04	2853180	3025247	5878427	1259363	1409336	2668699	472387	560111	1032498	9579624
2004-05	2816824	3003460	5820284	1357882	1525523	2883405	577129	655793	1232922	9936611
2005-06	2790668	2967111	5757779	1383496	1502794	2886290	623501	692374	1315875	9959944
2006-07	2769823	2955183	5725006	1431702	1564940	2996642	718916	797526	1516442	10238090
2007-08	2885736	2710964	5596700	1554686	1441561	2996247	808755	743962	1552447	10145394
2008-09	2682420	2859996	5542416	1441210	1550766	2991976	747660	810049	1557709	10092101
2009-10	2639555	2820488	5460043	1416574	1528585	2945159	783919	845972	1629891	10035093
2010-11	2613045	2801529	5414574	1430580	1536864	2967444	795930	851421	1647351	10029369
2011-12	2609406	2808432	5417838	1447951	1559068	3007019	807814	868371	1676185	10101042

*Source: Commissioner of Public Instructions, Bangalore*

**Drop-out rate at different stages of School Education in Karnataka from 2000- 2001 to 2011-12**

Year	(I-V classes)			(I-VII classes)			(I-X classes)		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
2000-01	13.22	16.42	14.92	25.54	26.64	26.12	34.28	33.75	34.00
2001-02	12.34	14.72	13.6	24.77	26.1	25.47	33.87	33.72	33.79
2002-03	7.62	10.41	9.08	22.33	24.69	23.57	31.04	32.41	31.76
2003-04	15.82	18.13	17.02	28.15	29.88	29.06	29.04	30.11	29.6
2004-05	12.82	13.66	13.26	24	24.78	24.4	32.6	33.35	32.99
2005-06	10.96	12.14	11.57	21.34	22.63	22.01	30.46	31.96	31.25
2006-07	8.11	8.78	8.46	18.01	18.5	18.26	26.37	27.17	26.79

2007-08	7.62	6.52	7.09	14.19	13.32	13.77	24.48	23.63	24.71
2008-09	6.41	7.40	6.92	11.67	12.30	12.00	22.26	22.93	22.61
2009-10	7.27	7.96	7.63	9.95	10.49	10.23	20.55	20.66	20.61
2010-11	6.35	6.86	6.62	9.33	9.89	9.62	18.49	18.77	18.64
2011-12	1.2	1.15	1.17	2.38	2.22	2.3	5.15	4.56	4.87

*Source: Commissioner of Public Instructions, Bangalore*

**LITERACY RATES BY SEX IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS (Percentage) in Karnataka\**

S. No.	District	RURAL			URBAN			TOTAL		
		Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
1	Bagalkote	76.82	52.69	64.80	87.21	70.84	79.04	80.16	58.55	69.39
2	Bangalore	84.70	71.46	78.57	92.54	86.08	89.47	91.82	84.80	88.48
3	Bangalore (Rural)	83.79	66.83	75.55	89.88	81.23	85.68	85.44	70.73	78.29
4	Ramanagara	74.16	56.07	65.22	85.50	77.61	81.60	76.92	61.30	69.20
5	Belgaum	79.81	59.26	69.68	91.82	80.40	86.16	82.90	64.74	73.94
6	Bellary	73.33	51.63	62.60	84.00	69.69	76.89	77.24	58.28	67.85
7	Bidar	76.84	56.74	67.00	89.17	76.62	83.09	79.94	61.66	71.01
8	Bijapur	74.29	50.86	62.87	87.78	74.80	81.35	77.41	56.54	67.20
9	Chamarajanagar	64.64	50.33	57.52	83.72	73.52	78.60	67.88	54.32	61.12
10	Chikmagalur	84.02	69.89	76.93	91.82	84.10	87.94	85.66	72.88	79.24
11	Chitradurga	79.01	62.08	70.68	90.99	81.81	86.41	81.37	66.05	73.82
12	Dakshina Kannada	91.11	79.73	85.34	95.73	88.76	92.20	93.31	84.04	88.62
13	Davanagere	80.43	64.31	72.49	88.46	79.97	84.26	83.02	69.39	76.30
14	Dharwad	81.33	62.59	72.21	91.01	81.60	86.34	86.83	73.57	80.30
15	Gadag	83.06	60.38	71.89	88.22	73.92	81.05	84.89	65.29	75.18
16	Gulbarga	69.63	47.54	58.77	86.35	73.04	79.82	75.11	55.87	65.65
17	Yadagiri	59.01	35.86	47.47	81.51	64.36	72.98	63.33	41.31	52.36
18	Hassan	81.54	64.11	72.78	91.07	84.01	87.53	83.55	68.30	75.89
19	Haveri	83.35	67.49	75.65	87.29	81.49	84.43	84.22	70.65	77.60
20	Kodagu	86.01	76.07	80.98	94.35	88.71	91.52	87.24	77.91	82.52
21	Kolar	78.51	59.67	69.22	89.53	81.49	85.53	81.94	66.56	74.33

22	Chikkaballapur	76.07	57.06	66.73	86.53	77.28	81.94	78.36	61.55	70.08
23	Koppal	76.57	53.23	64.98	86.27	70.69	78.49	78.21	56.22	67.28
24	Mandya	76.16	58.72	67.48	87.94	78.50	83.20	78.14	62.10	70.14
25	Mysore	70.89	55.49	63.29	89.16	81.99	85.58	78.44	66.59	72.56
26	Raichur	67.13	43.3	55.19	83.31	67.77	75.61	71.35	49.56	60.46
27	Shimoga	82.98	69.63	76.31	91.78	84.38	88.07	86.11	74.89	80.50
28	Tumkur	80.01	61.90	71.04	89.13	82.23	85.71	82.05	66.45	74.32
29	Udupi	90.11	78.42	83.91	95.53	89.20	92.28	91.69	81.41	86.29
30	Uttara Kannada	87.68	74.62	81.22	94.68	86.91	90.83	89.72	78.21	84.03

		Rural			Urban			Total	
Year \ District	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1951	24.00	5.00	14.00	47.00	23.00	35.00	29.00	9.00	19.00
1961	-	-	20.00	-	-	44.00	36.00	14.00	25.00
1971	35.00	15.00	25.00	60.00	42.00	51.00	42.00	21.00	32.00
1981	42.00	20.00	31.00	65.00	48.00	57.00	49.00	28.00	38.00
1991	60.00	35.00	48.00	82.00	66.00	74.00	67.00	44.00	56.00
2001	70.47	48.01	59.34	86.65	74.08	80.55	76.12	56.86	66.64
2011	77.92	59.60	68.86	90.54	81.71	86.21	82.85	68.13	75.60

Source: Census of India 2011

### Employment of Women in the Organised Sector in Karnataka 2011-12

Sl.No	District	Public Sector			Private Sector			Total		
		Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
1	Bagalkote	18879	7771	26650	10381	1362	11743	29260	9133	38393
2	Bagalore (Rural)	202785	55126	257911	485057	249603	734660	687842	304729	992571
3	Bangalore									
4	Belgaum	42631	10521	53152	31523	4745	36268	74154	15266	89420
5	Bellary	25495	7791	33286	13543	1683	15226	39038	12204	51242
6	Bidar	15744	5746	21490	4855	757	5612	20599	8548	29147
7	Bijapur	20699	8497	29196	5524	1183	6707	26223	6929	33152
8	Chamarajanagar	10764	5835	16599	1159	604	1763	11923	9101	21024
9	Chikkaballapur	7776	4514	12290	904	977	1881	8680	6812	15492
10	Chikmagalur	15203	8280	23483	5654	3224	8878	20857	7738	28595
11	Chitradurga	17057	6774	23831	4383	769	5152	21440	9049	30489
12	Dakshina Kannada	18511	7791	26302	8029	2174	10203	26540	8948	35488
13	Davanagere	27269	12406	39675	34395	142269	176664	61664	150060	211724
14	Dharwad	40056	12024	52080	39066	5786	44852	79122	18192	97314
15	Gadag	14704	5083	19787	4856	1842	6698	19560	13866	33426
16	Gulbarga	27902	9021	36923	8944	2112	11056	36846	7195	44041
17	Hassan	22050	11719	33769	5539	5652	11191	27589	14673	42262

18	Haveri	14255	5386	19641	5672	1006	6678	19927	12725	32652
19	Kodagu	8417	5771	14188	4813	3311	8124	13230	8697	21927
20	Kolar	23118	7825	30943	3678	1668	5346	26796	7439	34235
21	Koppal	11973	4873	16846	4880	617	5497	16853	8442	25295
22	Mandya	17849	8430	26279	4829	3985	8814	22678	8858	31536
23	Mysore	51788	20384	72172	34597	10531	45128	86385	18961	105346
24	Raichur	7437	4563	12000	11489	581	12070	18926	20965	39891
25	Ramanagara	20245	6500	26745	1952	610	2562	22197	5173	27370
26	Shimoga	24966	10620	35586	7954	1761	9715	32920	8261	41181
27	Tumkur	33138	11507	44645	7451	1445	8896	40589	12065	52654
28	Udupi	10851	6368	17219	14066	23401	37467	24917	34908	59825
29	Uttara Kannada	25017	10664	35681	8316	1844	10160	33333	8212	41545
30	Yadagiri	7803	2922	10725	685	162	847	8488	10826	19314
	<b>STATE</b>	<b>784382</b>	<b>284712</b>	<b>1069094</b>	<b>774194</b>	<b>475664</b>	<b>1249858</b>	<b>1558576</b>	<b>760376</b>	<b>2318952</b>

*Source: Director of Employment and Training*



**Male and female workers as per 2001 Census in Karnataka**

T/R/U	Age Group (Years)	Main workers			Marginal Workers		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	All ages	19364759	13896845	5467914	4170032	1338510	2831522
Rural		13462535	9194812	4267723	3665268	1059440	2605828
Urban		5902224	4702033	1200191	504764	279070	225694
Total	5-9	48757	30626	18131	37382	17559	19823
Rural		35835	21874	13961	33564	15371	18193
Urban		12922	8752	4170	3818	2188	1630
Total	10-14	438588	264956	173632	297888	126268	171620
Rural		354036	206216	147820	275161	112939	162222
Urban		84552	58740	25812	22727	13329	9398
Total	15-19	1553743	1091526	462217	576187	256481	319706
Rural		1171570	799369	372201	510700	213695	297005
Urban		382173	292157	90016	65487	42786	22701
Total	20-24	2310615	1686072	624543	581812	228422	353390
Rural		1589896	1110194	479702	499019	174816	324203
Urban		720719	575878	144841	82793	53606	29187
Total	25-29	2634337	1853389	780948	556787	165677	391110
Rural		1747927	1154004	593923	480841	123052	357789
Urban		886410	699385	187025	75946	42625	33321
Total	30-34	2461387	1734681	726706	445698	114735	330963
Rural		1639372	1082743	556629	386999	84863	302136

Urban		822015	651938	170077	58699	29872	28827
Total	35-39	2582246	1782868	799378	453850	103598	350252
Rural		1746410	1131728	614682	395911	76867	319044
Rural		835836	651140	184696	27939	26731	1208
Total	40-49	3905316	2852482	1052834	605757	144950	460807
Rural		2657022	1840448	816574	532681	109626	423055
Urban		1248294	1012034	236260	73076	35324	37752
Total	50-59	2098387	1570471	527916	344216	84415	259801
Rural		1470681	1049323	421358	307271	66555	240716
Urban		627706	521148	106558	36945	17860	19085
Total	60-69	966892	736021	230871	195486	62923	132563
Rural		762810	569441	193369	175990	52811	123179
Urban		204082	166580	37502	19496	10112	9384
Total	70-79	285625	231911	53714	58016	25763	32253
Rural		226844	182739	44105	52194	22302	29892
Urban		58781	49172	9609	5822	3461	2361
Total	80+	66142	52789	13353	14037	6700	7337
Rural		51055	40493	10562	12688	5742	6946
Urban		15087	12296	2791	1649	958	691

Source: Census of India 2001

### AGRICULTURAL LAND HOLDINGS AND AREA 2005-06 in Karnataka

#### ALL CLASSES (Total)

Sl No	District	Number of holders				Area(in hectares)			
		Male	Female	Institution	Total	Male	Female	Institution	Total
1	Bangalore	62779	13398	101	76278	76890	13394	644	90928
2	Bangalore®	286617	58071	412	345100	306135	54238	839	361212
3	Ramanagara								
4	Chitradurga	223555	58061	759	282375	460531	114674	3928	579133
5	Davanagere	217201	47519	860	265580	346772	69493	2427	418692
6	Kolar	351797	65341	677	417815	416166	65622	1215	483003
7	Chikkaballapura								
8	Shimoga	161042	40265	256	201563	210802	49327	832	260961
9	Tumkur	345326	76934	343	422603	583653	113726	1261	698640
10	Chikamagalur	174499	34855	1223	210577	247651	46755	12640	307046
11	Dakshina Kannada	146037	66152	1115	213304	134373	56273	2539	193185
12	Udupi	112207	84601	593	197401	85170	66582	2952	154704
13	Hassan	385809	83608	1355	470772	388053	72948	5162	466163
14	Kodagu	61171	10946	430	72547	144061	22078	9150	175289
15	Mandya	409430	112788	2253	524471	260052	60755	3253	324060
16	Mysore	299356	71155	531	371042	294120	64445	2259	360824

17	Chamarajanagara	162561	34907	313	197781	176841	33913	904	211658
18	Belgaum	495639	36966	368	532973	943704	60726	3875	1008305
19	Bijapur	283508	36061	120	319689	873631	96814	1078	971523
20	Bagalkote	190487	28016	110	218613	445171	57651	712	503534
21	Dharwad	112263	13764	139	126166	310206	35598	1019	346823
22	Gadag	130439	18200	331	148970	344524	41999	1491	388014
23	Haveri	184185	15965	272	200422	352675	27668	1324	381667
24	Uttara Kannada	139021	36346	504	175871	123680	25038	702	149420
25	Bellary	207058	53828	1064	261950	443085	98308	7107	548500
26	Bidar	197377	40506	526	238409	393213	71713	1791	466717
27	Gulbarga	487063	88372	358	575793	1175226	204506	2352	1382084
28	Yadagiri								
29	Raichur	253024	51269	37	304330	592822	104078	232	697132
30	Koppal	173341	34949	188	208478	391366	63220	918	455504
	<b>STATE</b>	<b>6252792</b>	<b>1312843</b>	<b>15238</b>	<b>7580873</b>	<b>10520573</b>	<b>1791542</b>	<b>72606</b>	<b>12384721</b>

Source:-Agricultural census 2005-06

**District wise Representation of Women in Grama Panchayats (General Election -2010) in Karnataka**

SL No	District	Total Number of Grama Panchayats	Total Number of Members	No. of seats reserved for women	% of seats reserved for women
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Bagalkote	161	2961	1238	41.81
2	Bangalore Urban	86	1672	696	41.63
3	Bangalore Rural	98	1699	738	
4	Belgaum	485	8469	3689	43.56
5	Bellary	189	3405	1378	40.47
6	Bidar	175	2972	1237	41.62
7	Bijapur	199	3626	1544	42.58
8	Chamarajnagar	120	2061	858	41.63
9	Chickmagalur	226	2405	1182	49.15
10	Chikkaballpur	151	2400	1014	42.25
11	Chitradurga	185	3223	1329	41.23
12	Dakshina Kannada	203	3275	1472	44.95
13	Davanagere	230		1438	
14	Dharwad	127	1865	874	46.86
15	Gadag	106	1624	710	43.72

16	Gulbarga	220	3891	1644	42.25
17	Hassan	258	3711	1691	
18	Haveri	208	2963	1362	45.97
19	Kodagu	98	1250	584	46.72
20	Kolar	156	2560	1085	42.38
21	Koppal	134	2604	1058	40.63
22	Mandya	232	3834	1660	43.30
23	Mysore	235	4300	1773	41.23
24	Raichur	164	3276	1301	39.71
25	Ramanagara	130	2109	920	43.62
26	Shimoga	260	2804	1389	49.54
27	Tumkur	321	5362	2268	42.30
28	Udupi	146	2398	1076	44.87
29	Utter Kannada	207	2622	1259	48.02
30	Yadgiri	117	2035	860	42.26
<b>State</b>		<b>5627</b>	<b>90643</b>	<b>39327</b>	<b>43.39</b>

*Source: State Election Commission, Government of Karnataka.*

**District wise Representation of Women in Taluk Panchayats (General Election -2010) in Karnataka**

SL No	District	Total No. of Members	Number of Women Member	% of seats reserved for women
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
1	Bagalkot	118	66	55.93
2	Bangalore Rural	68	38	55.88
3	Bangalore Urban	72	41	56.94
4	Belgaum	336	177	52.68
5	Bellary	135	75	55.56
6	Bidar	118	63	53.39
7	Bijapur	144	79	54.86
8	Chamarajanagar	85	45	52.94
9	Chickmagalur	110	62	56.36
10	Chikkaballapur	102	55	53.92
11	Chitradurga	129	69	53.49
12	Dakshina Kannada	129	71	55.04
13	Davanagere	129	69	53.49
14	Dharwar	75	45	60.00
15	Gadag	71	42	59.15
16	Gulbarga	155	87	56.13
17	Hassan	150	86	57.33
18	Haveri	118	65	55.08
19	Kodagu	49	28	57.14

20	Kolar	102	57	55.88
21	Koppal	103	57	55.34
22	Mandya	152	84	55.26
23	Mysore	171	92	53.80
24	Raichur	130	69	53.08
25	Ramanagara	83	45	54.22
26	Shimoga	109	65	59.63
27	Tumkur	212	116	54.72
28	Udupi	95	49	51.58
29	Uttar Kannada	128	78	60.94
30	Yadgiri	81	43	53.09
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3659</b>	<b>2018</b>	<b>55.15</b>

*Source: State Election Commission, Government of Karnataka.*



**District-wise Representation of Women in Zilla Panchayats in Karnataka (General Election -2010)**

Sl.No.	District	Total No. of Members	Number of Women Member	% of seats reserved for women
1	2	3	4	5
1	Bagalkot	32	17	53.13
2	Bangalore Rural	18	10	55.56
3	Bangalore Urban	34	19	55.88
4	Belgaum	86	44	51.16
5	Bellary	36	19	52.78
6	Bidar	31	17	54.84
7	Bijapur	38	20	52.63
8	Chamarajanagar	21	12	57.14
9	Chickmagalur	34	18	52.94
10	Chikkaballapur	27	14	51.85
11	Chitradurga	34	18	52.94
12	Dakshina Kannada	35	18	51.43
13	Davanagere	34	19	55.88
14	Dharwad	22	12	54.55
15	Gadag	18	11	61.11
16	Gulbarga	43	23	53.49

17	Hassan	40	21	52.50
18	Haveri	32	17	53.13
19	Kodagu	29	16	55.17
20	Kolar	28	14	50.00
21	Koppal	27	14	51.85
22	Mandya	40	21	52.50
23	Mysore	46	24	52.17
24	Raichur	35	18	51.43
25	Ramanagara	22	12	54.55
26	Shimoga	31	16	51.61
27	Tumkur	57	30	52.63
28	Udupi	25	13	52.00
29	Uttar Kannada	36	19	52.78
30	Yadagiri	22	13	59.09
<b>Total</b>		<b>1013</b>	<b>539</b>	<b>53.21</b>